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J. H. C. C. C.

LEGENDS of the QUAPPELLE LAKES DISTRICT

A
GUIDE
TO ITS
HISTORIC
SITES



CATA-BUY-SE-PU or the RIVER THAT CALLS

"THE RIVER IS SO NAMED BY THE SUPERSTITIOUS NATIVES WHO IMAGINE THAT A SPIRIT IS CONSTANTLY GOING UP AND DOWN IT; THEY SAY THAT THEY OFTEN HEAR A VOICE DISTINCTLY WHICH RESEMBLES THE CRY OF A HUMAN BEING."

DANIEL HARMON'S JOURNAL MARCH 1804
ONE OF THE FIRST WHITE MEN TO VISIT THE UPPER QUAPPELLE.

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T. Petty*

ECHOES *of the*
QU'APPELLE LAKES
DISTRICT

by T. PETTY

*A Guide to Some Historic Sites, Trails and Scenes of the
Qu'Appelle Lakes District*



Printed in Canada

163/37



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FOREWORD

In preparing this booklet we have tried to keep two objectives in mind: to provide a guide to some of the historic sites of this district, and to give a little of the history of some of the interesting events and people who have lived or visited here.

We hope that both the stranger and the resident will enjoy it.

Throughout its preparation we have felt uncertain as to what to select from such a wide field. Like a friend of ours who cut off the legs from a suit of long underwear in mistake for the arms, we are sure that often we have used the snips in the wrong places.

I would like to acknowledge the very kind assistance given by the following who have made the publication of this booklet possible:—

The Town of Indian Head.

The Town of Fort Qu'Appelle.

The Fort Qu'Appelle and District Board of Trade.

The Provincial Parks Branch.

The Saskatchewan Golden Jubilee Committee.

In addition I am extremely grateful for the assistance of many friends who have given information, and especially to Dr. L. H. Thomas, Provincial Archivist, for his invaluable and generous help in many ways.

T. PETTY.

Additional copies of this booklet may be obtained at one dollar per copy from
T. Petty, Indian Head, Sask.

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Echo One

LONG, LONG AGO

FOR the sake of perspective some mention must be made of the general background of this district's story, and of the sites of ancient human habitations.

Geologists maintain that our district was once covered by a great inland sea, and much later by an ice cap which pushed across it from the north. (1)* Much of our soil was formed by material brought here by that mass of moving ice and snow and many of our hills were shaped by it. As this ice cap melted northward a great glacial lake was formed some 50,000 years ago. This leveled out our plains—and helped form a mighty river which for thousands of years ran across Alberta and Saskatchewan.

Slowly, as the ice melted, the water lowered, and the high spots of land below began to block up and re-direct the flow of the Qu'Appelle. About 30,000 years ago this blocking shut off the western section of the river which thereupon made a sharp turn at the Elbow of the South Saskatchewan and eventually linked with the North Saskatchewan. The rest of the Qu'Appelle Valley was finally left to develop its own peculiar features.

Many of these, the wooded coulees, the rounded valley hills, the flats and jewel-like strings of lakes, are due to the fact that, as the basin of the valley dried up, new drainage streams developed. These carried loads of silt into the deep valley, dammed up the bottom with swampy plains which in turn formed flats and lakes.

In some places, scientists believe, a section of the valley's basin itself has sunk. This appears to be particularly in evidence in this district, and helps to explain the relatively great depth of the Qu'Appelle Lakes.

For the story of our pre-historic human habitations we must go to the archaeologists. Up to the present their explorations in this district do not appear to have been very great. Some work has been begun in the late pre-historic period, especially with the wandering buffalo-hunting Indians. When the curtain of written history rises upon this district, some 150 years ago, the native inhabitants were a definite nomadic type. Their habits were closely geared to those of the buffalo, an essentially wandering animal that sought shelter in wooded ravines in winter and roamed widely for the rest of the year.

For these reasons it is easy to understand that the shelter, pasturage, wood and water of our southern hills and valley coulees made our district desirable to those siamese twins of the prairies, the Indian and the Buffalo. The ancient camp sites of the former and wallowing grounds of the latter are particularly in evidence at the east end of Squirrel Hills, south of Indian Head and the west end of the same hills, south of Qu'Appelle. (See sketch No. 1).

* numbers indicate the footnote.

SKETCH NO 1.

HISTORIC SITES and TRAILS



TRAILS --- (12)

$$A = FT.ELICE - FT.OUAPPELLE$$

B = BRANCH OF TRAIL "A"


= FT. GARRY - OLD WIVES LAKES

D = TROY - PRINCE ALBERT

E = FT. PELLY - OU'APPELLE POST

F = DU'APPELLE-WOOD MT.

ROADS

 = Blacktop

== Gravel

— = Dry Weather

--- = Creeks

Scale 1" = 3 mls

2150
E L HILLS

Echo Two

A CENTURY AND A HALF AGO—THE FIRST WHITES

THE first white people to come to this district were fur traders and their activities are to be found recorded in the journals of the trading posts. With these records our written history begins. Some are very vague and fragmentary, but three of them are of particular interest.

The first was written by Daniel Harmon (2) a trader from the North West Company's post on the Assiniboine, who wandered near this district in 1804. There is no evidence that he was very close to the Qu'Appelle Lakes, but he tells about journeying across their northern basin towards Last Mountain, and provides us with one of the first graphic descriptions of the Indians who lived hereabouts.

His version of the basic belief of the Indians concerning the naming of the Valley appears on the cover. Many local interpretations of the voice or the echoes have been recorded by students of the Indians of the Qu'Appelle. Upon these we need not dwell. We are content to remark that the existence of this legend is strong evidence that the Natives who camped along the Valley found something here which satisfied deeper needs than the purely physical. To the Indians, our Lakes and the Hills were poetically attractive, and the Echoes which lured them were not entirely of physical origin.

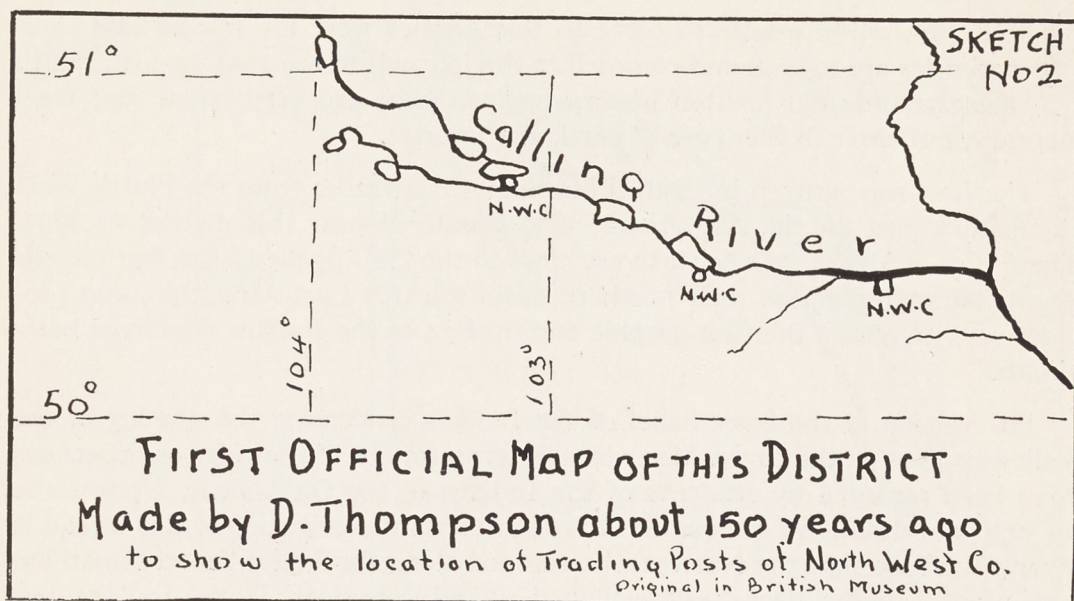
A second source of historical knowledge concerning this district may be found in the journals of John McDonald (3) also a trader employed by the N.W. Company at the same time as Harmon. Here again the record is extremely interesting but equally vague so far as this district is concerned. He does make it clear that his company had a trading post at some lake well up the Qu'Appelle river, but it seems impossible to pinpoint the site.

The third and most definite record of the actual existence of any white-man's habitation in this district is found in the maps made by David Thompson. (4) He also left an interesting account of his travels in the North West, but unfortunately there are no references to this particular area. He was specifically employed to make a map of the entire North West—about 150 years ago—for his Company's use. To do this he travelled thousands of miles, became an eminent explorer in his own right, and made what became recognized as the most authentic map of the north west part of this Continent for about half a century. Travellers, traders and publishers all used Thompson's great map very extensively. (See Sketch No. 2.)

On this map the Qu'Appelle river is shown approximately as it was placed later, but was lacking in considerable detail. It also shows two unnamed lakes evidently intended for our Qu'Appelle Lakes, and in addition two which might represent our Deep Lake area. At the eastern end of the easterly lake of the former pair there is indicated a North West Company trading post.

In addition to Thompson's map several brief scattered references in fur trade records would lead to the conclusion that the white traders of one establishment

or another had traded in this district near the turn of the last century, but there seems to be no existing evidence which might lead one to the site of any of their habitations.



Echo Three

A CENTURY AGO—SITES OF HABITATIONS OF FIRST WHITE RESIDENTS

THE first historic sites, scenes and people of this district concerning which definite records exist belong to a century ago. It was then that the first residences of the White Man were built, of which some traces remain. These habitations were associated with fur traders, explorers and missionaries. The records indicate two distinct places where the trails of the three groups crossed or met. We will deal with each site separately.

Part I

A FUR TRADER'S POST AND A BRITISH EXPLORING PARTY

From available records it is certain that a post was built by the Hudson's Bay Company about 1855 and used by them more or less intermittently for about ten years, chiefly as a pemmican and fur gathering establishment. It was the centre for the Company's trade with the Indians of the Qu'Appelle Lakes—about twenty miles to the north of it, and the Indians and half-breed traders to the south and west for a hundred miles or more. It was a frontier post and suffered from the keen competition of the free traders whose trail from Red River to the great buffalo plains of the southern prairies passed near to it.

Apart from the general picture of such Hudson's Bay Company forts, which followed a fairly well prescribed pattern, our most important source of information concerning the actual appearance of the fort itself, the activities which took place there, as well as its location, are a single journal kept for one trading year 1857-8, and an explorer's report to the British Government of the visit which his party paid to the fort in September, 1857.

The journal is in the form of a business diary which all officers in charge of Hudson's Bay Company posts had to keep. A selection from these daily entries may be of interest. From them we may see how this first advance guard of the white men spent their days. So also we may get a general picture of the fort itself, and some idea of this district—and its people of a century ago. All entries were brief, objective—and generally record the weather, doings of men and arrivals and departures of traders and visitors. (5)

We give only parts from several scattered entries: "Two men cutting wood, one cutting hay, one squaring logs Indians stealing horses one man white-washing the inside of my house one man roofing Wm. Daniel arrived from Fort Pelly, brought two casks of rum and one keg of gun powder one man repairing chimney Little Daniel thatching The Saulteaux came in for advances Old Kettle and part of his band arrives, brought sixty pieces of dried meat and grease men mudding the inside of their houses sent off twelve carts to Fort Pelly loaded with provisions (pemmican, etc.) Free traders have gone to their wintering grounds This is the wildest set of Indians that have come in yet for drinking and fighting Fire stopped at Long Lake (Little Long Lake) Pierre Codotte and Ducharmie making a

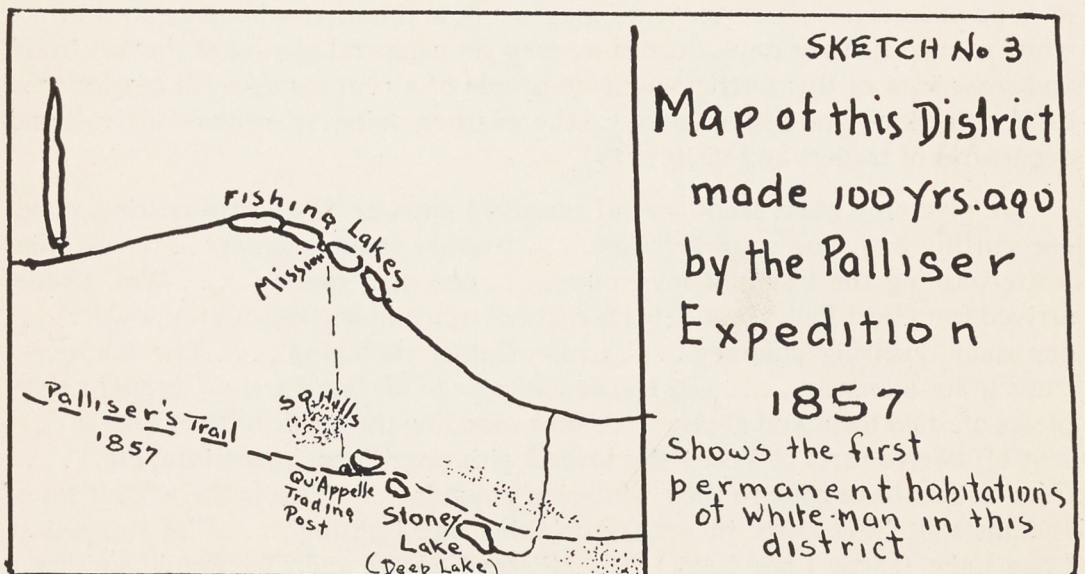
chimney Wm. Birston and party arrived brought 18 prime robes, 16 foxes, 17 wolves, 30 skunks, 15 kitts, 5 badgers, 17 (bladers) sinews, 19 pieces of dried meat, 15 tongues."

From the foregoing we may picture the establishment as consisting of at least three separate buildings, each made of poles and squared logs, with muddled walls, thatched roofs, and some had chimneys. Carts went off to Fort Pelly, the headquarters for the entire district, loaded with buffalo meat in various forms and considerable small pelts. These carts sometimes came in with rum and gun powder. Whiskey was apparently used freely by the free traders—and to some extent at least—by the Company's traders who had to compete with them on the plains. Traders and Indians kept coming and going, and these latter, at times, were very drunken and troublesome.

An added sidelight to these wilder scenes is found in one of the few references to this fort which appears in other records of the Company. In a letter sent to the London Committee by Sir G. Simpson, Governor of the Company, on June 21st, 1859, he reports "An attempt was made last winter by a band of Indians who had been carousing with the Free Traders to take our post at the Qu'Appelle Lakes, in consequence of their demand for further supplies of spirits being refused. Mr. A. McDonald, the clerk in charge, and the guide, a half breed, William Daniel, displayed both courage and discretion on the occasion and succeeded in repelling the attacks. (6)

One of the most significant entries to appear in the journal for the year 1857-8 is dated September 12th. As an example of its characteristic brevity we give the entire entry: "Wind south and cloudy, Captain Palliser and party arrived." A similarly laconic note on September 14th covers the stay and departure of this famous expedition of scientists and explorers.

This group was sent out by the British Government to assess the resources of the then practically unknown North West. It was commanded by Captain J. Palliser—whose chief assistant was Dr. James Hector. They made a somewhat



hurried trip across the Prairies and the Rocky Mountains, and presented their historic report to the British Parliament in 1860. (7) This famous report, complete with detailed descriptions of their day-to-day travels and their observations on all manner of things, gave the first scientific account of this and other districts.

Our special interest in the Palliser report comes from the fact that this distinguished group made their local headquarters at the Qu'Appelle Lakes Fort. This gives to that little habitation a peculiar local distinction. For a few days the little band of fur traders were host to these famous explorers who played an immensely important part in the development of Western Canada.

Another local value of this visit of the Palliser expedition to our district is the information which its report gives concerning the exact site of this early trading post. This aspect of the Qu'Appelle Lakes post has displayed many baffling features, and to treat it adequately would require more space than we have at our disposal. Thus we must content ourselves by saying that in so far as it is possible to arrive at an objective conclusion, in the light of all available evidence, we believe that the site of this post is to be seen as shown on our sketch No. 1.

Briefly, this conclusion is based upon the following considerations: surface evidences of an establishment such as is indicated in the journal already mentioned; the things found there which place its existence close to the period indicated, chief of which is an English gold coin dated 1838; the location of the site as given in the maps or in the records made by people who visited it; its position with regard to the old trails used by the fur traders, and the belief of many of the very earliest settlers. The various pieces of evidence do not always agree, but their discrepancies can be reasonably explained. (61)

All this does not rule out, however, the possibility that another fort may be discovered in the same general area which has even more conclusive evidence of being the post visited by Palliser. From our experience of fort hunting throughout this district this appears unlikely.

Another British traveller to visit this post was the Earl of Southesk, in 1859. He followed much the same trail as the Palliser party, stayed a day or two near the trading post, and later wrote an interesting book based on his travels. (8) His account of this district and the native people is vivid and informing.

Part II

A CHRISTIAN MISSION AND A CANADIAN EXPLORER

The second historic site belonging to that century-old group of buildings is that of the first Christian Mission in this district. Like the site of the Qu'Appelle Lakes Fort, this too, is linked with the story of an explorer, Professor H. Y. Hind of the University of Toronto, who made his headquarters near this mission in 1858. From his official report we get our best picture of this mission and its builder.

The mission was built of logs on the present town site of Fort Qu'Appelle by Mr. Charles Pratt. It was really a combination home, school and church. We have been unable to pin-point the exact spot where this building stood or the exact year in which it was built. Its builder, too, remains somewhat shadowy. The few definite facts of his life have been gleaned from various references to him made by travellers or officials whom he served.

Dr. Hector, who visited the mission in 1857, says Mr. Pratt was a full-blooded Cree, Professor Hind suggests that he was of mixed origin. He was a catechist or native teacher whose mission and work were supported by the Church of England. He worked mostly at Qu'Appelle Lakes and the Touchwood Hills. His services, as guide and interpreter, were used by many groups of explorers, scientific parties and government officials. (9) His efforts to raise crops and stock in the Qu'Appelle Lakes district are the first of which we have any record, and won recognition and praise by Captain Palliser and others. What is less generally recognized is the fact that Pratt's agricultural school and mission give to this native missionary the distinction of being the pioneer evangelist and native Christian teacher at the Qu'Appelle Lakes.

It was with Professor Hind's expedition that Mr. Pratt and his little log mission are most prominently associated. The professor met the missionary in the Indian Head Hills on July 16, 1858. A few selections from Hind's report (10) for that day will illustrate the general intelligence and generosity of Pratt and the manner in which Hind, and many other explorers, gathered much of their information from natives such as he. "Here we met with C. Pratt and party going to Red River He gave me a good deal of valuable information respecting the country and with characteristic generosity told John McKay [the half breed accompanying the Hind Party] to take a young heifer belonging to him when he arrived at the mission and kill it in honor of our arrival Pratt showed me some specimens of lignite which he had taken from a bed two feet thick at the Wood Hills [Wood Mountain] about 80 miles south west of the Hudson's Bay Post An old Indian accompanying C. Pratt, born in this part of the country, told us that he remembered the time when the whole country through which we passed since leaving Fort Ellice was one continuous forest, broken only by two or three intervals of barren ground."

Hind gathered other information from Pratt and then continues with some early glimpses of this district. "The view from Indian Head range is very beautiful; it embraces an extensive area of level plain bounded by the aspen woods on the borders of the Qu'Appelle Valley. A portion of the old forest alluded to by the Indian still exists in this range A few cabri (prong-horned antelope) were seen in the Indian Head range. They used to abound in the country drained by the Qu'Appelle."

The party continued towards the Mission in the valley, which was to be their headquarters. Hind describes the plants, the soil, the geological formation of the land, and their meeting with a party of squaws and children gathering the "Indian Turnips" and preparing them for keeping by peeling, cutting and drying them.

He was much impressed by the "magnificent prairie" through which they passed and prophecies "the country north of the Indian Head and Chalk Hill (11) range is truly beautiful and will one day become a very important tract . . . The Chalk Hills are a continuation of the Indian Head range . . . In the language of the Indians they contain bands of soft white earth or mud." He regrets that they had no time to explore these hills. They "reached the Church of England Missionary Post at Fishing Lakes just before sunset; 17th July, forded the Qu'Appelle and camped on the north side of the Valley." (12)

The story of the Hind Expedition is an important and well known chapter in the history of Western Canada. It was part of the larger expedition, headed by Dr. Dawson. This party had been assigned the task of finding a suitable route from Lake Superior to the Pacific and at the same time to gather any other available information concerning the agricultural value of the country through which they passed. Their work extended through 1857-58 with Dr. Dawson concentrating on the eastern section and Professor Hind the western. They both finally decided on a combined land and water route, which was later tried and then abandoned.

The Professor and his party chose the Qu'Appelle Mission as the starting point for their historic exploration of this river from its source near the Elbow of the South Saskatchewan to its mouth on the Assiniboine. Irrespective of the fact that his recommendation to make this river an important link in the east-west route was not practicable, his work has been of immense value in many ways. The present suggested engineering project to irrigate the Qu'Appelle valley has revived interest in Hind's work.

His expedition which followed the trail to the mission in the valley, consisted of 15 men, 15 horses, 6 Red River carts, 2 canoes, 1 wagon and 1 ox. On Sunday they rested, attended a service in Pratt's mission, at which an Indian was aroused from a nap to be baptized "John" and then promptly went back to sleep. Next day Hind plotted the position of the Mission as 50. 49' 40" N. Lat.; 103° 27' 00



W. Long. with variation of compass 18. 00.E. Our check for the exact site revealed that the Professor's readings were well east and north of this district. But his map and other records place the mission very definitely on the present site of Fort Qu'Appelle. (See Sketch No. 4).

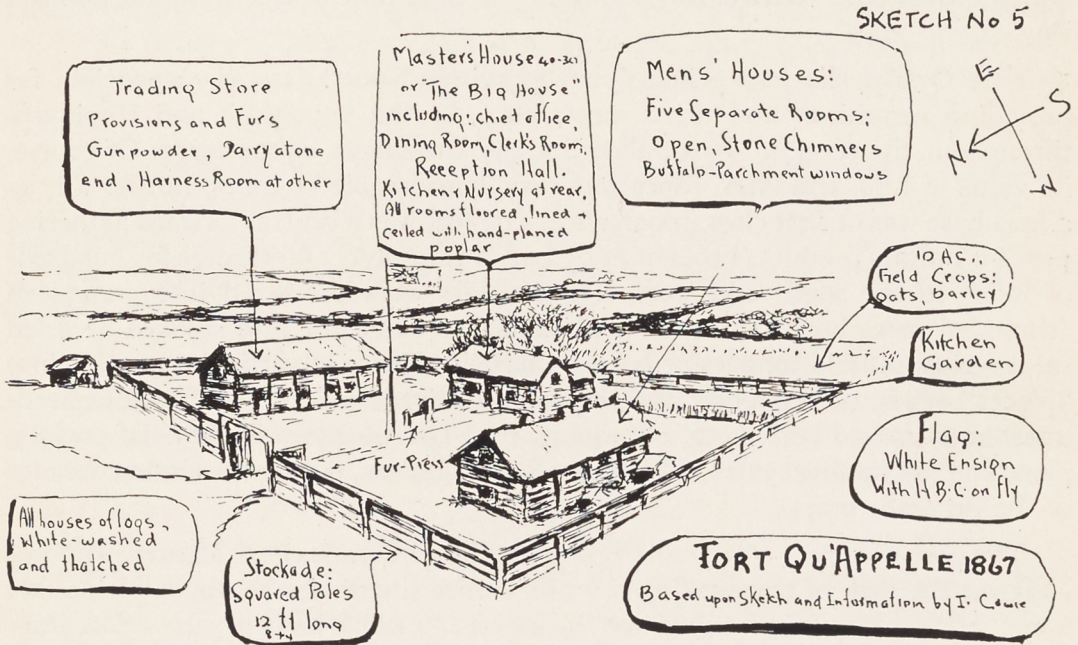
Hind was much impressed by the reports of the western section of the valley as given him by the Indians at the Mission, and these strengthened his decision to explore the sources of this river. This exploit opened up a new vision of future possibilities for the Qu'Appelle Valley. This mission camp became the point of departure for each of the three sections of his party. From it on July 20, 1858, Professor Hind, Mr. Fleming and two Indians launched their canoe to explore the sources of the Qu'Appelle, with truly historic consequences. At the same time Mr. Dickinson and two men launched their canoe, and made careful soundings of the lakes and valley to the east. Other groups were sent off with carts to make the overland swing to Long Lake and thence to Fort Pelly. The entire party assembled at Red River on September 4th, about three months after leaving there.

Because of its associations with two eminent Canadians, a missionary and an explorer, this site of the first mission on the flats of Fort Qu'Appelle is of unique historic significance.

Echo Four

FORT QU'APPELLE 1867-70

MANY interesting things might be said about this historic old fort. Several informative books and records have been written by employees or residents of the fort during its existence. (13) A large body of source material exists in the central Archives of the Hudson's Bay Company in London. For our purposes we limit ourselves to presenting a general picture of the fort, a bird's eye view of its role and importance during the fur trade period, together with brief comments on some people closely associated with its history and a few "close ups" of day to day activities within and around the fort itself.



A glance at the sketch and its explanatory notes will give a sufficient idea of what the fort looked like in 1867, near the beginning of the first period of its life. These buildings were added to and enlarged to meet changing conditions, particularly in 1881-2. In that year the needs of the pioneer settlers began to supersede those of the fur traders and an office with a clerks' quarters upstairs and an entirely new store were built which soon became a "saleshop outside of the stockade." (14) Thus the sketch portrays the fort when fur was still king, but its days were already numbered.

In those great days of its youth, Fort Qu'Appelle was part of an amazingly well organized fur-trading empire which had been developing for almost 200 years. In that time the "Honorable," and amazingly well organized, Company had built up one of the greatest business concerns the world has ever seen. This vast Fur Empire of North America was divided into three divisions. By far the most important of these was the Northern Department which controlled the trade throughout the drainage basins of North-West Canada. This Northern Department was divided into Districts, and each of these in turn had a central headquarters and a number of outposts. Fort Qu'Appelle was one of half a dozen forts which belonged to Swan River District, and which together were responsible

for the trade across the southern Prairies. The headquarters for this District was Fort Pelly on Swan River. This was on one of the oldest water routes to York Factory, on Hudson Bay, the chief depot for the Northern Department and doorway to London and Europe.

A glance at Sketch No. 1 will show the strategic importance of Fort Qu'Appelle. It was the chief centre of a network of trails which served the south-central and south-western prairies, and was linked to its base depots of York Factory and Fort Garry by means of a 200-mile cart trail to Fort Pelly, and a 135-mile one to Fort Ellice. Both routes were used but the latter superseded the former when Fort Ellice became the District headquarters, and the Fort Garry and the over-land route slowly replaced the land and water route via Hudson Bay.

Fort Qu'Appelle was primarily a "provision" post. It was responsible for providing pemmican and dried meat, etc., for the voyageurs and employees throughout the service. It supplied literally the sinews of the trade. Of course, its value in furs, and later, robes was very considerable at times, but its role as a food base was of first class importance. The fort was a central forward gathering post for buffalo products brought in by bands of hunters and traders for hundreds of miles to the south and west. These meats were processed into pemmican (shredded meat boiled in tallow and packed in skins) or into smoked or dried meat strips, buffalo tongues or bosses (humps). These in turn were packed into "pieces" of about 90 pounds, and shipped by brigades of carts and men to headquarters at stated periods or on request. Fort Qu'Appelle was the chief packing plant and fur trading centre of Southern Saskatchewan, during the closing decades of the fur trade era.

The post was built on this site in 1864 by Peter Hourie, Post Master, who was assigned the task of transferring from its earlier site on the southern plains (see map). His rank as Post Master was the highest to which boys of mixed parentage could aspire in the service and meant he was officially eligible to be in charge of a trading post. Mr. Hourie was a conspicuous figure in this district for many years, particularly during the Rebellion in 1885, when he was appointed chief interpreter to General Middleton.

Mr. Archibald McDonald was placed in charge of this new fort Qu'Appelle in 1866 with the rank of "Clerk", and then as chief trader until 1871. He returned there in 1882 with the rank of Chief Factor when the post became District Headquarters, and continued to conduct the affairs of the Company until his retirement in 1911. He was the last of the chief factors of the Hudson's Bay Company in active service and served this district and eastern Saskatchewan for upwards of half a century. He played an important part in restraining the natives during two rebellions. Mr. McDonald illustrates the unique success which attended the Company's policy of carefully selecting its young men in Scotland. He was held in the highest regard by his employers, his associates, natives and finally, by the residents of this district and the citizens of Saskatchewan for his integrity, his ability and public spiritedness.

In 1872, Mr. Isaac Cowie was given charge of the post with the rank of "Clerk." He also was sent out from Scotland under the regular seven-year con-

tract system of the Company. In 1867 he was appointed assistant to Mr. McDonald at Fort Qu'Appelle with the official standing of apprentice clerk. Again the Company had chosen wisely. Mr. Cowie not only brought energy, zeal and imagination to his work but rendered the public and the Company an inestimable service in later years by publishing a book, *The Company of Adventurers*, based upon his experiences in the trade. This book provides an invaluable store of information, based as it is on an observant intelligence, a good memory and valuable records.

From 1874 to 1882 Mr. W. J. McLean was in charge of this post, first as Clerk, then as Junior Chief Trader. Mr. McLean was later in charge at Fort Pitt where he and his family had exciting experiences with Big Bear during the Rebellion of 1885. His daughter, Mrs. Amelia Paget, gathered much of the information for her very instructive *Indians of the Plains* whilst with her parents at this valley fort.

These people are but a few of many who played important roles in the scenes of the Old Fort during its colorful history. Of that considerable procession of dignitaries, officials, to say nothing of the lesser lights, who in one capacity or another visited or stayed inside the stockades we must leave to the imagination of the reader.

For a few brief glimpses of the day to day routine duties of the various employees of the fort we are indebted chiefly to Mr. Cowie's book. When Cowie arrived as a young apprentice clerk, fresh from the Shetland Isles in the late fall of 1867, he was met "by a tremendous clamor of dogs and the banging of doors" from the inmates of the fort to greet his arrival. The inmates consisted of, in addition to the "boss," a very mixed assemblage. Mrs. McDonald the "lady of the Qu'Appelle Lakes" gave him a kindly welcome at the "big House" where he met their two small boys, later to distinguish themselves in their own right in this district and beyond. Next in importance was the famous hunter and interpreter, Jerry McKay. He was the Saskatchewan-born member of that most distinguished stock whose exploits have occupied so many pens with eulogy. Six more men from Scotland, mostly Orkneymen, and five natives made up the regular complement of employees.

Five others of mixed blood were employed on a monthly basis. The most famous of these was one Alex. Fisher who looked after "the horse guard" at the east end of Lake Katepwa. Fisher was a man of many parts whose council was often sought in difficult or dangerous situations. Many of the men had native wives who lived within the stockade and were accorded full status and regular duties of one kind and another.

The chief business of the establishment was, as noted already, to gather meat and furs. This was done in several ways. At this particular time two general systems were followed. First: Individual hunters, mostly Indians, were supplied with their "outfits," all the goods they required for a certain period of time were given to them on credit. Each one's account was kept in the "Indian Debt Book." In the main, this system worked well so long as there was not too much competition from "Free Traders." At this time, however, there was considerable com-

petition, as well as a bitter feud between the Indians themselves. This meant that many debts had to be written off as "killed by the Blackfeet."

The second method of trading was of a more indirect nature. Organized small parties of traders were sent out to scattered Indian and hunting camps and their trade goods were bartered for pelts and pemmican, etc. This often called for long arduous journeys across the plains. Later this system was modified until the Company became more or less wholesale supplier to traders who did the actual dealing with the natives.

Along with this second method of sending out traders to distant hunting centres there grew up a small number of what were called wintering posts. These generally more distant, temporary posts, were sometimes the scenes of keenest competition amongst traders, and wild orgies which marred the history of the fur trade too frequently took place at them. Fort Qu'Appelle established such posts at Wood Mountain, Cypress Hills and Last Mountain. For a time this last was developed into a more permanent establishment in an attempt to reach the trade of the more distant camps to the west.

The arrival and departure of the dog teams to and from those winter posts or camps, the exciting incidents along the trail have provided artists and writers with much material. The tales of those trips enlivened the evenings around the big open fire-places or helped to brighten the dull routine duties of mending, fixing harness, or attending to other chores. Comings and goings were often accompanied by their own celebrations and ceremony such as flag raising, special regales of wine and social gatherings.

The spring was an especially busy but enjoyable time. It was then that the winter's catch of furs was all packed and made ready for the long trip by cart and boat to York Factory or Fort Garry. The men were all glad to be back in the comparative civilization within the fort. Life was more regular and smoothed with some of the amenities of life. The clerks were busy marking up the records for every bale, and a careful, efficient routine was followed. Sports and farewell parties were frequent. Feats of skill and strength of man, pony and dog were displayed or talked about. Farewell parties were staged for those leaving the service or making the long trips with the carts. These things help to explain the remarkable spirit of fraternity and loyalty which was an outstanding characteristic of the Company's employees.

When the cart brigades had gone, those left settled down again to the chores of garden, field and fort, or to getting ready for the summer hunt upon which much of the pemmican trade depended. The carts filled with trade goods such as ammunition and rifles followed the hunters to the plains. Here the men enjoyed the excitement and adventure which went with those expeditions, and brought back the precious loads of meat and robes to be processed, packed, stored, or shipped back to base-posts as required.

In the meantime the carts returned from the central posts filled with the trade goods, and a new season's trading began. Interspersed with the routine life there were the periodic visits from the itinerant native missionary, Mr. Settee, the less frequent visit of the district chief factor, the arrival of special messenger with

important news or orders, and the long awaited mail packet. Apart from these brief contacts with the outside world, this dozen or so traders lived as a tiny organized society in the midst of "A Great Lone Land," surrounded by friendly but uncertain natives.

This relative calm was, of course, at times more or less violently threatened. This was particularly so in the winter of 1870-71 during the time of the Red River disturbances. The rumblings of those distant events had reached the valley even in 1868. Cowie mentions the prowling Sioux from the south lurking around the stockades that winter and all night patrols had to be maintained.

As the trouble developed both the Sioux and many Metis sought the Qu'Appelle. Rumors grew that the more turbulent elements were planning to sack Fort Qu'Appelle, and Mr. McDonald took extra precautions to ensure the friendship of the Crees. The men of the fort mounted an old army artillery piece, "Brown Bess"; charged it with gun powder and ball, and daily its voice went thundering down the lake by way of warning.

The storm blew over without regrettable incident, but for many months the atmosphere was tense around the stockade, and the routine calm of the valley and the fort was disturbed.

Thus for the two closing decades of the fur traders' regime in the North West, old Fort Qu'Appelle was the centre of this district's history. Through its gates went the men who directed the first flow of prairie wealth to the world's markets. From its stockades rose the voices of traders, hunters, voyageurs of various blood, at work or play. On the flats around the fort camped the natives. Their weird tom-toms soothed to peace or roused to war. Of such were the valley echoes of those days.

All in all, old Fort Qu'Appelle made its own rich contribution to the general history of that picturesque period. Today the small, plastered building at the foot of Bay Avenue marks the site, and is the last crumbling remains of the old historic establishment.

Echo Five

THE QU'APPELLE TREATY

THE cairn now standing near the centre of Fort Qu'Appelle commemorates one of the most pathetic incidents in the history of the Canadian Prairies.

Here in 1874 the Cree and Salteaux tribes signed away, after many days of dramatic delay, their legal rights to 75,000 square miles of southern Saskatchewan. In return these tribes were promised certain small annuities, hunting privileges, habitations, etc. This was the 4th and the most important in a series of 10 such treaties.

In keeping with the importance of the event fitting ceremonies had been prepared. The government commissioner was Lieut. Governor Morris of Manitoba and the North West Territories, assisted by the Hon. David Laird, Minister of the Interior, and the Hon. W. J. Christie, a former Hudson's Bay Company chief factor. Escorting this party and serving as an impressive body guard for the occasion were one hundred red-coated militia from Fort Garry under the command of Lt.-Col. Smith. Beside their camp was set up the big marquee in which the ceremony took place.

For days the Crees and the Salteaux, who were to give up their lands, had been setting up their wig-wams on the flats and in the coulees. Father Hugonard arrived at Fort Qu'Appelle about a week before the day set for the rendezvous, and says that there was a great assembly of Indians there then; the pow-wowing and tom-tom beating lasted for six days before the ceremony began. About 2,000-3,000 Indians and their horses were there. The leader of the Crees was Chief Loud Voice. He became the principal speaker for the Indians, although any could speak if they wished, and many did. Chief Cote, leader of the Salteaux was absent, as were many others of that group.

The date set for the signing was September 8th, but delays and obstructions developed and it was not until September 15th that Loud Voice and the Crees finally signed. Some days later at Fort Ellice the Salteaux Chiefs agreed. Several times during the ceremony, serious objections were expressed and once the military was called upon to make some display of arms, following a similar display by the Indians.

The first objection was against the actual site which the Indians maintained had been surveyed by the Hudson's Bay Company without the consent of the natives. This led to the deeper charge that the Company had stolen their lands. Governor Morris asked the Indians to explain more fully. To this, one named the "Gambler" replied that they had been robbed of "The trees, the earth, grass, stones, all that I see."

Later it was discovered that one chief cause of the reluctance of the Indians was due to the fact that certain clauses of earlier treaties had not been adhered to by the government. In their hearts there was that fear which they had expressed in an earlier petition to Lieut. Governor Archibald in 1871. This reads in part "our country is getting ruined of fur-bearing animals . . . now we are poor . . .

make provision for us against the years of starvation.” (15) Behind this again there seems to have been evident in those futile delays a tragic sense of the impending doom which was slowly but surely engulfing their old way of living.

The cairn which stands today on the plot where the treaty was signed was erected in 1915 by the Saskatchewan branch of the Western Art Association. The names of many who were leaders of both natives and whites in this district at that time appear on it, along with those of various representatives of the Crown.

Echo Six

A MISSION, A SCHOOL AND A FAMOUS FATHER

PROBABLY three of the most historic associations with Lebreton, are its Mission, its Industrial school, and Father Hugonard, the last being the most famous.

Few missionaries have won such wide renown by such widely different groups of people as he has done. Indian as well as White, Protestant as well as Roman Catholic have acclaimed his achievements. He has won outstanding praise as a devoted missionary, a successful conciliator between hostile groups and as a great teacher and educator.

The Lebreton Industrial School was one of those organized by the Dominion Government in 1884 as one means of meeting the white man's obligation to the natives of the North West Territories, by helping Indian children to adapt themselves to the new way of life. The school, under the distinguished guidance of its first principal, the Rev. Father Hugonard, became an outstanding illustration of the possibilities of such training.

From the first the school became the object of keen public interest and official observation. It was an essential "stop" in the itinerary of all important travellers, and lynx-eyed reporters. Historians, journalists and story-getters have vied with one another in their account of this school and the distinguished missionary teacher who laid its foundations.

A few extracts culled from the account of a visit paid to the school during the summer of 1886 may be of interest as a very early picture of the school, its setting, Father Hugonard and his work, and as a sample of newspaper style of those days. It appeared in the *Winnipeg Sun* and was reprinted in the *Qu'Appelle Progress*, November 25, 1886.

After a twenty minutes drive with a "spanking team" the party covers "the four miles from the Commonwealth of Fort Qu'Appelle to the Industrial School." The road was like "a pison sarpint snake crawling over a mountain". The writer describes "the beautiful expanse of water", the abundant white fish that are caught there and the fishing scenes presently to be seen when "the camp fires of the Indians will dot the shore, nets will cast and draw back, filled with finny results." At the school is "the good Father, Rev. J. Hugonard, ready to receive our party with that courtesy and hospitality that distinguish the Frenchman all over." They enter their names in the visitors' book and find that many from distant places have their names therein. "Father Hugonard is a pleasant man imbued with zealous activity, indefatigable in his good work. He is quite a young man, not more than 30 years of age. He has highly cultivated tastes." They visit the gardens and enthuse over the 30 pound cabbages etc., and then describe the building: two stories, frame, with two wings. Next they go through the classrooms, see some of the work being done in various departments and note the wide range of subjects, academic and practical, skills and arts. They are much impressed with all that they see and hear and finally sum up their impressions: "Here are 37 little savages to whom a good priest, an earnest teacher and a beneficent government are teaching the ways of civilization."

Such might be taken as a fair specimen of many such reports of this particular aspect of Father Hugonard's work, and is a sufficient explanation of the fact that on the monument to the good Father which stands in the grounds of the present school and to the west of it, the inscription reads simply "Erected by the people of Canada, 1926."

The Qu'Appelle Mission around the site of which the present town of Lebreton has grown has a very interesting history of its own. This portion of the Qu'Appelle was one of the first to attract the roving half-breed hunters to a more settled way of living. Conditions favouring the establishment of permanent winter settlements took definite shape in the middle sixties. These were: the ever-increasing distance between the summer hunt and their old winter abodes at Red River, and the establishment of the Fort Qu'Appelle trading post. Historians do not agree entirely upon the details of the actual establishment of the Mission here, but in general the following story is accepted. (16)

In 1866, at the request of the Metis hunters in this district, Archbishop Tache sent Father Richot to build a combined house and church on the site of the present church in Lebreton. This building was finished in 1867. The following year Father Decorby took charge of the Mission and, in 1874, the Rev. Father Hugonard came direct from France to assist Father Decorby.

In addition to this accepted story it seems also to be generally agreed that Archbishop Taché had visited this part of the Qu'Appelle on some previous occasion and had selected the actual site for the Mission. (17) One fairly commonly held story is that the Archbishop had wandered off the trail when travelling between Ile-a-la-Crosse to St. Boniface. He came into the Qu'Appelle Valley near Lebreton and was so impressed with the Indians that he resolved to send a missionary to them later. It is said that Father Richot built the Cross to mark the place where Archbishop Taché had first seen or entered the valley. Like similar stories, this has lent itself to a variety of more or less picturesque interpretations.

The Cross stands as a conspicuous landmark in this part of the valley and was built by Father Richot soon after he had erected the first Qu'Appelle church. He may have placed it there simply as a guide to wandering hunters, or as an invitation to settle near the cross, or it may mark the place from where Archbishop Taché first surveyed these Qu'Appelle Lakes.

Echo Seven

NORTH WEST MOUNTED POLICE POST—FORT QU'APPELLE

FEW historic sites in the Canadian West arouse more general interest than the posts of the North West Mounted Police.

These posts were the centers for various activities. From them rode the patrols of that famous force on their many missions. Occasionally they had grim work in hand, but mostly their long rides were more or less routine calls to settlers along lonely trails, not at all dramatic or sensational but of considerable value in the sparsely settled conditions of those days. To these posts, too, came callers on various errands. At times these were no doubt arresting or distressing but again the bulk would be merely routine or social.

It is well to keep in mind this multi-colored activity which characterized those old police posts as we picture this one on the present golf course at Fort Qu'Appelle. The force was made up of young, healthy and often high-spirited men. Many of them could play some instrument, sing, dance or entertain. At night they staged many an impromptu concert or celebration. They loved horse racing and sports, and the flats near the post provided an excellent race track.

Their laughter and singing must have added a new kind of echo to the valley's repertoire. Mr. N. M. MacKenzie, who worked in the Hudson's Bay store just across the flats at that time records: "They were very friendly (men) and visited the Fort regularly spending many social evenings with us." Mr. Norbert Welsh, the famous old Metis buffalo hunter recounts with great glee the horse races which they staged, and how his horse beat Captain Jaffrey's in a special event, which netted \$100.00 for Mr. Welsh.

At first, 1877, there was only a small outpost of 5 men under sub-Inspector French stationed in a small comfortable log building on this coulee. (18) In 1879, Commissioner J. F. MacLeod reported that the force at Qu'Appelle consisted of four constables, one inspector, one sergeant and two horses. (19) But, he "begs to recommend that one division be placed at Qu'Appelle as soon in the spring as possible."

At the end of 1880, Commissioner A. G. Irvine reports "4 sergeants, 4 corporals, 27 constables, along with 1 superintendent, 1 inspector, 2 staff sergeants, 46 horses and 2 colts." In the same report he expresses concern concerning the strength of the force in view of the rapidly changing conditions for the unfortunate Indians. The buffalo were decreasing sharply and civilization was approaching rapidly. This was causing a most serious situation for the Indians, the settlers, and the police, especially in such places as Qu'Appelle where there were great concentrations of Indians and to which the railway was apparently going to come. Thus in that year it was decided to set up a substantial establishment at Fort Qu'Appelle.

The actual building of this post is described in the annual report of Inspector S. B. Steele as follows: (20) "To the Commissioner at Fort Walsh—Sir: On July 21 last (1880) I took over command of this division ("D") from Superin-

tendent Walsh, who proceeded to Ontario on leave of absence work was commenced on the building on August 1, and was finished in November. The buildings consist of a barracks room 60 x 25, guard room, cells, carpenter and shoeing smiths, the four last are under one roof. These are of a substantial nature, well thatched and white washed. The temporary stable which was erected is 125' x 30' and is built of heavy posts and rails placed in two rows, and stuffed between and covered with hay. All lumber hauled from the old police barracks at Swan River, a distance of 125 miles and the logs were provided at least 7 miles from the post. All the work with the exception of the thatching and chimney building was performed by our men. They did it with the greatest cheerfulness, the non-commissioned officers driving the teams and working in the woods the same as the constables. The transport of the lumber from Swan River entailed a great deal of hard work."

The building of the post itself by those cheerful young policemen must have been exciting to those fur traders and Metis who witnessed it. What thoughts it may have kindled in the minds of the more stolid natives who loitered around the place it is hard to say. The Commissioner's report for that year again points out to the Minister of the Interior the enormous area the police must protect and the smallness of the force at his disposal.

Probably the most tensely dramatic moments experienced by the young men at this Qu'Appelle post were in the summer of 1881. It was then that Sitting Bull came and camped on the flats near the post with the starving remnants of his once fierce "tigers of the plains." This famous leader and his warriors had fled into Canada for sanctuary following the bloody defeat of General Custer in the Battle of the Little Big Horn in 1876. The Canadian Government could not give them a reservation as the Americans had already provided one for the Sioux. The situation was extremely delicate and dangerous. The skilful and courageous manner in which it was handled brought the greatest respect and praise for the newly organized Mounted Police, particularly to Superintendent Walsh.

The Qu'Appelle episode was one of the last dramatic acts of the pathetic drama. After five years of futile efforts, Sitting Bull and all that remained of his followers came to Fort Qu'Appelle seeking shelter and food. Here the meetings between Sitting Bull, speaking in behalf of his half starved people, and Superintendent Steele (and later Commissioner Dewdney) for the government, followed the same pattern. The Sioux pleaded nobly but vainly for a reservation, the government patiently but firmly refused anything more than enough food to barely keep them alive. There were no incidents of a belligerent nature, everything was under control, but the situation was one of implicit danger, particularly because of the presence of Indians from the Qu'Appelle reservations in the vicinity.

To the police and to all those officials and employees on the reservations it was a period of great strain and anxiety. It was during this time that Sitting Bull visited the Father Hugonard at the Qu'Appelle mission and obtained a few bags of flour and other articles giving in return five horses, some saddles and bridles, and several watches taken from American soldiers in the Custer Battle. (21)

All the white people in this district and many of the Indians must have breathed a great sigh of relief as they watched the departure of Sitting Bull and the Sioux. This notorious chief, whom Vestal described as the "Indian Lincoln" and of whom Hugonard said "there was something solemn and imperious about him, a certain reserve and dignity" (22) knew when he left the Qu'Appelle Valley that the end was in sight. After a brief stay at Wood Mountain, where he was fed by the famous trader Jean-Louis Legare, he surrendered to the Americans at Fort Buford, and was later killed in tragic circumstances.

The official visit of the Governor General, the Marquis of Lorne, in August of that same year, 1881, illustrates a different kind of activity which was seen at those historic police posts occasionally. For this Governor General's tour of the North West the police provided small detachments of their men and horses from each division, about 50 altogether. This escort met the government party near Oak Lake, Manitoba, and by the time they had completed the assignment they had travelled 1,229 miles, averaging about 35 miles per day for 35 days of actual travel. This meant that parts of the escort made over 2,000 miles before they got back to their stations. (23)

The year 1882 was probably the busiest year for "B" division and its outposts. In that year this force played a major role in policing the new railway construction and the great land boom. Until the end of July their headquarters remained at Qu'Appelle—after that they were moved to Regina. Reporting for that year, Commissioner A. G. Irvine says "work during the summer was very great due to upwards of 4,000 men on C.P.R. construction . . . some of them of exceptionally bad character . . . By having a strong force at Qu'Appelle, I was enabled to afford sufficient protection to the C.P.R. . . . Outposts were established on all the different trails." (24)

Such glimpses suggest the variety and importance of the activities which radiated from the few log buildings which once stood in this coulee on the golf course at Fort Qu'Appelle.

Echo Eight

ALONG PIONEER TRAILS

THE sudden decision of the authorities in 1881 to run the C.P.R. along the Qu'Appelle Valley directed the first movement of immigrants to the southern prairies. During 1882 this particular district was one of the great lodestones of that movement. Literally all trails led to the Qu'Appelle.

There were several reasons for this. These plains had been given enthusiastic praise by government surveyors and official explorers such as the distinguished professor, John Macoun. His report had been given great publicity by both government and railroad authorities who had to justify their decision to use the southern rather than the northern route. Other eminent visitors had waxed eloquent about this part of the Qu'Appelle Valley. The Governor General, Lord Lorne, and his party, including reporters, had toured the North West Territories in 1881. They had made a kind of triumphal procession along the Qu'Appelle Lakes and his Lordship was stimulated to great flights of oratory by what he saw here. Moreover, his official chaplain, Rev. Doctor McGregor, wrote glowing articles for the press concerning what they had seen. The Dominion Land Survey parties and others who had been working in this district in 1881 returned to Manitoba and the East with high opinions concerning the plains adjacent to Fort Qu'Appelle.

Thus in the early spring of 1882, when the first land-hungry immigrants gathered in Winnipeg and Brandon in search of cheap land and new homes in the western prairies, the ancient magic of the name "Qu'Appelle" began again to work its legendary spell. From crowded sidewalks and street-corners, land agents and bill boards announced loudly the wealth of the Qu'Appelle lands.

The tales of those days have been often told. That was an epic year of high adventure for Canada. It is little wonder that a substantial library exists of the "Pioneers of '82," their hardships, and their experiences on that grand trek to the "Golden West". The advance guard left the steel at Oak Lake or just west of Brandon. It was a very wet spring; they struggled with their wagons and oxen in swamps, and later mosquitoes, camped, rested, but doggedly kept going, their minds set on Qu'Appelle or similar places.

They followed whatever trail they could find, examined the land, staked claims, pushed on; some, the faint hearted went back. The chief trail through this district used by the motley vanguard of land seekers, store keepers, and potential builders of this bit of the N.W.T. were the old fur traders' trails. A glance at the map will show three of these, A. B. C. The first of these is named on the earliest maps of the district the "main Qu'Appelle Trail". The second is an older main east-west trail and the third is an alternative Valley route.

We have heard and read many stories about those who came in over these trails. We have space for extracts from only one of these, written by the late Mr. George Thompson, who became one of the successful settlers in the Indian Head district. His story is both typical and singular. (25) "Arrived in Winnipeg shortly after that memorable storm on the first of March, 1882, remaining only a few days

in that city, which was at that time enjoying the effects of a real-estate boom. Being stricken, and pretty badly with the west fever the party proceeded to Brandon, which was then in reality the terminus of the C.P.R. and general outfitting station There was at that time so many "best" places it was pretty hard to decide, but as Qu'Appelle seemed to have many advantages, Qu'Appelle it had to be, and after getting an outfit together which consisted of two yokes of oxen, with their harness, two sets of sleighs, each loaded some what as follows: breaking plow, spade, axe, camp stove, tent, cooking utensils, a few sacks of flour, kegs of syrup, bag of sugar, bacon, a small quantity of spiced roll, dried apples, beans, a limited supply of canned fruits and vegetables etc., etc." The party ran into a blizzard before they were scarcely started; were thrown into the company of surveyors, overtaken by other land seekers, helped each other over the wet spots, pitched their camps, and like the famous pilgrims on their way to Canterbury, entertained themselves with stories.

Mr. Thompson gives the following details: "up in the morning; find the oxen; hitch up and make as good a distance as we could till the sheltering side of bluff close to the trail offered sufficient protection from the wind to enable us to make a camp fire and get dinner The snow was deep and it being stormy most of the time we were on the trail, we only made an average of about 15 miles per day, and until we passed Fort Ellis, we could always make a settler's house for a stopping place for the night, and the number accommodated in some of these houses per square foot of floor space, I will not attempt to specify From Fort Ellis west until we struck into the Qu'Appelle Valley, near Raccette's Crossing (26) (near Ellisboro) we had to depend on the stopping places of the mail teams." In one of these the hay roof of the cabin caught fire and gave them an exciting, sleepless night. They travelled up "the long-looked-for and to us wonderful Qu'Appelle Valley" to Katepwe and then struck out towards the south and camped in a coulee. "As the land in this district was not yet subdivided into sections we had to do our own surveying from the township lines." This, and getting out poles to erect the first buildings occupied them until the middle of April. The first building they erected was located near the coulee "close to where the old H. B. trail crosses it, (marked "x" on diagram No. 1) which in those days was a favorite camping ground for those travelling the trail in summer time and it was no unusual sight to see 50 to 100 oxen and carts and ponies going up and down the trail. . . . As soon as the trail became trafficable in 1882 there were not only the ponies of the Half-breed freighters but it became a thoroughfare for as mixed a lot of travellers as you could wish to gaze on. There were all kinds and conditions of land-lookers, preachers sons, farmers sons, bankers sons, lawyers sons and sons of all the different kinds of business men you could mention, with outfits just about as varied, from fine teams of heavy horses to shagginapies and Red River Carts."

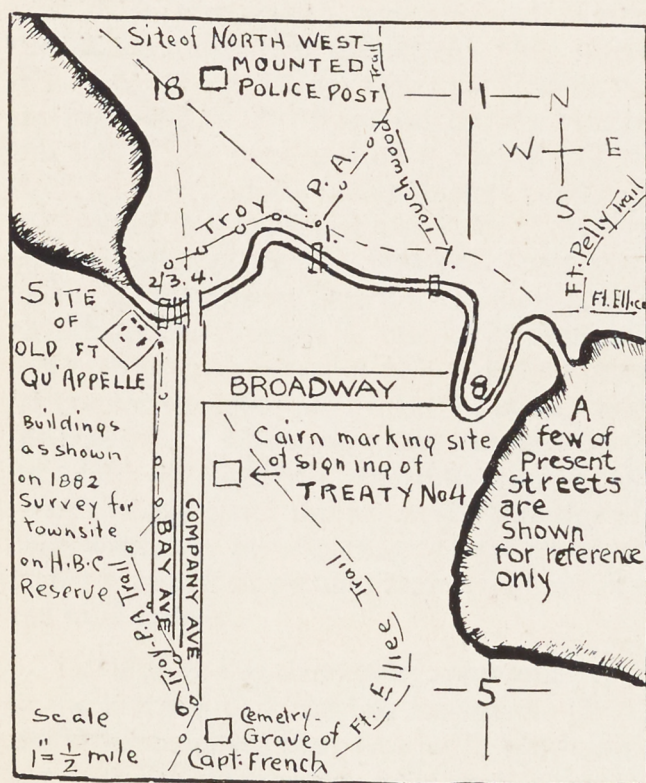
With the coming of the railway and the beginning of the settlement era, some of the old trails took on a new role. Whilst the bulk of long distance east to west traffic used the railway, a lot of local travel followed portions of the old trails, modified to meet new needs.

Thus trail "A" was followed for long distances to Fort Qu'Appelle, where the settlers got their mail and pretty soon their milling done. From this main trail

the settlers branched off to their homesteads. In the same way trail "B" continued to serve the settlers living in the valley or on the near by plains. Trail "C" was used to some extent as a cross-country trail serving the southern settlers for more or less local purposes, particularly to Troy or South Qu'Appelle.

At the same time, older trails were called back into service and new ones were developed. One of the most famous of the former kind was trail "D" between South Qu'Appelle and Fort Qu'Appelle. This had been used by the fur traders both from its old fort on the plains and its later one in the valley to Wood Mountain. As soon as the steel reached South Qu'Appelle or Troy as it was then known, this piece of trail became the first lap in that long overland route which linked the C.P.R. with the northern settlements of Battleford, Prince Albert and Edmonton. The trail quickly became one of the most important north-south routes in the N.W.T.

Another old trail which was brought back into service lies between the east end of Lake Katepwe and South Qu'Appelle. (see "D" on sketch No. 1) This had apparently been used by the Hudson's Bay Company as part of its trail between Fort Pelly and its Qu'Appelle Lakes Post on the prairies. Many of the first settlers in the Lake Katepwe district found Troy a desirable center for various purposes and petitioned the Territorial Government to survey the old trail which had once led to the "original Qu'Appelle trading post" (62) south west of Troy. It was out on the valley flats that the Hudson's Bay Company had what was called its "horse guard", considerable horses being pastured and kept there. No doubt this piece of trail was used also as a link between this "horse



SKETCH No 6

TOWNSITE OF FT. QU'APPELLE SHOWING:—

I OLD TRAILS

- A. FUR TRADERS (As shown on Topographical Survey map of 1881) = - - - - -
- B. FIRST SETTLERS, The Troy-Prince Albert Trail (As shown on Survey map of 1885) = - . - . -

II HISTORIC SITES

III RIVER CROSSINGS

- 1. = Early Crossings
- 2. = Bridge built about 1884
- 3. = Steel bridge built about 1904
- 4. = Present concrete bridge built about 1920.

"A ferry was run near site of present bridge in 1882." footnote #60

guard" and the Company's post. A piece of this old trail may still be seen at the point marked "Y" on sketch No. 1. Short stretches of wolf willow growing in the ruts help to make the trail clear as it winds up the side of the coulee quite close to the highway.

The more important of these old trails were protected by government survey against local fencing or obstructions. In this case pieces of them were often straightened out—a little. A good example of such is the "telegraph trail" which followed the old trail for most of the way, but left it at others. (27)

As the settlement centers developed, fences and plowing began to render these old trails less serviceable, and roads slowly took on a more grid-like pattern. Even then, at times, pieces of the older routes were often preferable, and continued to serve the first generation of this district's pioneers.

Echo Nine

FIRST FURROWS

THE general current of this district's local history lies outside our scope, but a very brief glance at its early struggles may be permitted. Each of the three chief settlement centers followed a somewhat similar pattern, but each had its own unique features. A glimpse of one of these will illustrate this.

The first two years saw the ploughing of the first furrows both at the settlement centers and beyond them. Fort Qu'Appelle set the pace. It had the prestige and traditions of the Hudson's Bay Company, coupled with the spell of a magic name, as well as the experience and ability of Mr. A. McDonald, his family and friends to help it. The old Company, trimming its sails to the new winds, made Fort Qu'Appelle the headquarters for the Swan River district in 1882, and sent Mr. McDonald there to take charge. The pemmican trade was gone, so it turned to land sales and sales-shops to meet the changing needs. It enlarged its buildings and staff and presently went outside its stockade to do business.

Until mid-summer of that year the valley flats were filled with the tents of settlers, land agents, traders of all kinds. On the heights above, the Hon. Edgar Dewdney, Lieut Governor, was camped meditating a site for the new capital of the Territories. (28) Surveyors of the C.P.R. had marked out a line leading to the Fort. It was rumoured freely that both the railway and the new capital were coming. The place took on the appearance of a boom town. Presently the railway and Mr. Dewdney passed them by, and most of the speculators moved west. Those who stayed, swallowed some disappointment and set to work to lay the foundation of Fort Qu'Appelle. How successful they were is evident in the first issues of the *Vidette* (28b) for October 9, 1884, which reads in part: "In the beginning of 1882 there was but the Hudson Bay Post and Smith's farm on this side of the river, and on the north side were the Police Barracks, Moreau Bros. log store and the Indian Agent's building In the fall of that same year the Hudson Bay Company and T. W. Jackson surveyed their properties forming only a portion of the flat, into lots. These that winter were sold for \$60 to \$75 apiece. At the present time the Company's lots sell for \$150 to \$500 Many have been the struggles of this little place since its infancy from a mail every three weeks, we get now a daily delivery; the efforts that were made to retard telegraphic communication with the outer world; the changing of the location of the post office: the attempt that was made to fleece the name of our post office, the oldest in Assiniboia; the refusal of the government to aid to bridge our river; the cold water thrown on the bonusing of the grist mill." This and similar items emphasize the importance of mills, bridges, post offices besides giving more than a hint of that peculiar feature of most of our little settlements, civic pride and local jealousy.

The birth of this community spirit and local boasting appears in this reference to the building and business expansion. (29) "When Messrs. Grundy, Goldie and Hewson opened their tent hotel, which in time grew into the frame building known as Echo House, they little foresaw that their rival would erect a mammoth

hotel, now owned by men unheard of in those days, Messrs. Joyner Bros. and Atherton." Or again, "Messrs. Finney and Moor, Lay and Sutherland have deserted their log shanties and built such stores as one would expect to find in the cities of the east. The Hudson Bay Company conservative, though they may be, have had to come out from behind their pallisades." Following this the editor gives expression to what became one of the major frustrations of this settlement for the next two decades: "One thing lacking to complete our series of evidences of civilization, the eagerly longed for iron horse."

For the first few years of the settlement period, this picture of vigorous local development and general progress was typical of this entire district, with the exception of Indian Head where peculiar conditions obtained. First furrows and foundation lines were struck in many fields of endeavor. This over all progress was in the main characteristic of the first two pioneer decades, with the serious exception of immigration.

Echo Ten

REBELLION INTERLUDE—LOCAL ECHOES

THE Metis uprising in 1885 was the last tragic and regrettable episode in the transition of the old way of life on these Western Plains to the new. There is such a sharp contrast and often conflict between these two modes of living that some pain was to be expected when the final break came. That this transition was attended by the uprising of 1885 was to say the least most unfortunate for all concerned.

Our story is concerned only with this district's role in some of the incidents of that Rebellion and more particularly with the places where these occurred. Whilst the venue of the actual fighting was more than two hundred miles north of us, this district was one of the chief danger zones. There were many Indian Reserves in this district, especially around the lakes. Here, too, there was a large Metis settlement. Both before and during the Rebellion it was feared that these older elements of the population would unite in support of Riel and the northern insurgents.

For some months before the first shots were fired on the Saskatchewan at the end of March 1885, those in close contact with the Indians and the Metis along the Qu'Appelle were genuinely alarmed at the danger signals appearing locally. Says Mr. McKenzie (30), who was in charge of the Hudson's Bay interests at the Crooked Lakes Indian Reserves, "we had all kinds of Indian rumors during the fall and winter of 1884, mysterious Indians and half-breeds strangers appear on the reserves"—"Peter Hourie (who was in charge of the Home Farm and all the interests of the Indian Department at Crooked Lakes) came into the store at the end of January and said "some more of those strange Indians from Saskatchewan (river) are prowling around.'" (31)

Mr. W. S. Hockley, who was farm instructor on the Pasqua Indian Reserve, just west of the Qu'Appelle Lakes, left records expressing similar unrest there, and describes several incidents of an alarming nature. (32) From these it is easy to understand the truth of Mr. McKenzie's statement that "The white settlers were in dread and fear of a general Indian uprising." It was this fear of the tragic results following such an event which helps to explain the impressive military effort which was eventually displayed by the Dominion Government.

This fear of an impending calamity, like the storm warnings of an approaching hurricane, placed this district much nearer to the center of the stage than the actual incidents might indicate. That the more violent scenes were spared to this district is due not merely to the arrival of the military and the Mounted Police, important as those were, but also to the tact and courage displayed by the handful of white people who were in direct contact with the natives on the Reserves and elsewhere. These agents and traders did much to prevent incipient destructive elements from changing into open revolt against law and order.

The chief impact of the Rebellion was felt in the scattered little homes of the settlers of this district, and along the lonely trails. These cannot be pin pointed, but may be visualized from the two following records, selected from several.

Mr. and Mrs. T. Smith and their young family were homesteading in the Qu'Appelle Valley some few miles east of Lake Katepwe during the Rebellion. Some years ago Mrs. Smith wrote an interesting story of their pioneering, from

which we quote: "Then the Rebellion came"—"when it was at its peak (April, 1885) we sighted Indians coming up towards our house. One of my little girls grew hysterical and it seemed to me a long time before we could quiet her down. My husband a very calm man, ordered us to stay in the back room, while he put on the kettle, set the table and fed the much feared Indians." (33) Thus it was the fear rather than the fact of trouble which characterised the Rebellion in this district.

Again, Mrs. Smith's story tells of the even more alarming dangers which lurked along these valley trails during those tense days. "One morning my husband was on his way to Indian Head, a band of rebellious half-breeds halted him. Mr. Smith recognized one of them who had worked for him, and as the leader of the band levelled his rifle, this man (who had worked for Mr. Smith) swerved the rifle to one side and saved my husband's life."

Other records tell of "Indians being seen looking through the windows at night" and a general understanding that in the case of actual uprising the settlers in the south-east part of the district were to gather at the Bell Farm. Several bands of local home guards were organized and drills and meetings were held to discuss strategy.

Mr. McKenzie in the book referred to describes the plot which was hatched on the reserves to capture Fort Qu'Appelle. To it were to gather the Indians from the reserves south of Indian Head to Moose Mountain.

With such rumors circulating it is easy to understand how "The white settlers were in dread and fear of a general uprising", and to imagine some of the unrecorded incidents of those days.

Of the more headline-features of the Rebellion itself this district also had its share. These were due to the fact that General Middleton, officer in charge of the campaign, chose Troy (South Qu'Appelle) as the point of embarkation for his troops for the front, and used Fort Qu'Appelle for a time as the base of operations, and the old Troy—Battleford or Prince Albert trail as one of his chief supply routes. Thus once again by a strange quirk of events, Qu'Appelle jumped into the front page of the world's news. History again, in a more dramatic form, followed the trails to and from Qu'Appelle.

The historic decision to make this Troy to Battleford trail the chief military route to the center of trouble is given in General Middleton's own report as follows: (34) "My reason for selecting Qu'Appelle as the primary base was that it was the nearest spot on the C.P.R. to Winnipeg from which there was a direct trail to Batoche, Riel's headquarters."

In this same report the General suggests some of the unusual activity and strange scenes which this little unknown prairie settlement suddenly witnessed. "We arrived next morning (March 28) at about 9 AM at Troy, which is, or was the name given to the C.P.R. station at Qu'Appelle. (35) Here we detrained, and as the weather was cold, and a great deal of snow on the ground, I put the troops into the emigration (immigration) sheds, instead of encamping in their bell tents." He was met by the Lieutenant Governor of the North West Territories, Mr. Dewdney, and they proceeded to the hotel where a preliminary picture of the situation was discussed.

The next days were the beginning of many hectic and picturesque weeks in Troy itself and all along the trail through the Fort and thence to the Saskatchewan

River. Mr. G. B. Murphy's diary (36) gives a graphic glimpse of the Troy scene. March 28 "The balance of the 90th battalion and horses and wagons and special train loads of supplies (arrived). Preparations are being made for the organization of the transport". March 29, "Winnipeg Field Battery (and) Transport Teams are busy loading. Farm teams from Indian Head, Qu'Appelle, Fort Qu'Appelle and Wolseley principally hired." April 6 "'A' Battery from Quebec, and 'B' Battery from Kingston have arrived today." Mr. Murphy continues to report the arrival of troops from Toronto and Ottawa and their departure for Fort Qu'Appelle.

Similar scenes of troops, transport and freight carts, horses, men are reported at Fort Qu'Appelle in the *Vidette*. March 26: "96 men of the N.W.M.P. enroute to the Saskatchewan district halted here for a few hours for the purpose of securing supplies, horse shoeing etc." April 2nd. "A council of war was held at Qu'Appelle station on Monday at which it was decided to make Fort Qu'Appelle the base of operations."

It is believed locally that General Middleton's headquarters at Fort Qu'Appelle at which the general plan of campaign was hurriedly prepared was in the tiny building now preserved near the foot of Bay Avenue on the property belonging originally to the old fur-trading Company. Tradition maintains that this building was at some time part of the Company's establishment; some believe it was used as a school-room by Mrs. A. McDonald.

Probably the most picturesque and dramatic Rebellion scene to occur at Fort Qu'Appelle was the departure of General Middleton's force for the scene of action. Some say his line of march followed the trail leading across the wooden bridge about half a mile east of the present bridge. Others maintain that he used the west bridge. See sketch No. 6 (37) The march off was described in General Middleton's report as follows: "The next day (April 5th) I drove out to inspect the trail to be followed; found that the bridge across the stream required strengthening to allow the infantry, and that guns would have to ford it."—"View from the plateau of the valley with its setting and tents very picturesque"—"We started on the 6th of April at 7 AM—road up north bank steep and heavy, and had to use 4 horses to get up our 120 wagons"—"strength all told was 402 including my new levy of scouts"—"our line of march followed the telegraph line, which being lightly constructed was often down."

One of the saddest scenes of the Rebellion was witnessed on that same piece of trail a few weeks later when they brought back the body of Capt. French, killed at Batoche. The simple facts of Captain French's career were recorded in the issue of the *Vidette* for May 14th, 1885 following the funeral in the little cemetery at the top of the hill beside the old telegraph trail. From this story we gather that the Captain had been "one of the prominent settlers in the district; and a brave Irish gentleman, the youngest son of the late John French; served as a captain in the Irish militia; then under his brother, Col. French in the N.W.M.P., from which he had retired and settled on a homestead in 1883; had formed the Scouts at the outbreak of the Rebellion, distinguished himself at Batoche; killed at the head of his men; brave to a fault".

Captain French's grave on the brink of the valley, alongside the old trail is a simple shrine and potent reminder of the last tragic act in the transfer of these prairie valleys, plains and trails from the hands of the hunter to those of the farmer.

Echo Eleven

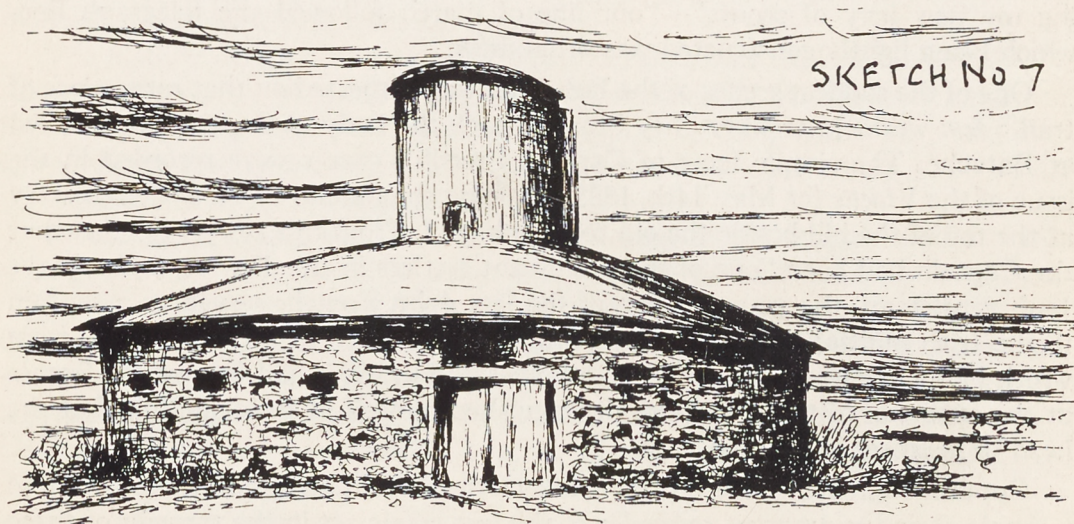
THE BELL FARM—ONCE “THE WORLD’S BIGGEST FARM”

THE town of Indian Head stands near the center of the once famous Bell Farm, a nine mile square block, once claimed to be the world's largest farm in one single piece of land. North on No. 56 highway two miles from its junction with No. 1, can be seen the still sturdy and serviceable old round tower-like remains of the farm's stone barn, perhaps one of the oldest of such barns on this continent.

Major Bell, the chief architect of the big farm, was himself a striking personality; tall, athletic, military in bearing, genial and enthusiastic in disposition, keen in many sports and expert in some, and admirable friend-maker and promoter, inclined to be aggressive and dominating.

His career was as picturesque as his personality. He was in turn a lumber merchant, and major in the militia in Montreal, a farmer in Ontario, farm manager in Minnesota, promoter and manager of the Bell Farm, a supply officer under General Middleton during the Rebellion of 1885, an indefatigable traveller, and a leader in a host of secondary organizations. In later life he met and married a rich Irish lady, made money in the lumber business in the Bermudas, returned to the North-West Territories, and after promoting several more ventures died in Winnipeg.

The Bell Farm was the brain child of the Major, who had visited the North West in 1881, where he was caught in the tide of the West's awakening, heard from a surveyor in Winnipeg about the possibilities of the Qu'Appelle district and went back to Ontario to organize the Qu'Appelle Valley Farming Company along lines of the big farm, an idea with which he was very familiar from his Minnesota experience.



Old Round Stone Barn, Bell Farm
Built 1882-3, near center of farm, 9 mls. sq.

Briefly, the scheme which took shape that winter was to buy all the homestead lands, the even numbered ones, in a square nine mile block, from the Government and all the odd numbered sections in the same block from the C.P.R. This was to be laid out in such a way that small self-contained farms of about 213 acres partly improved could be bought on easy terms by the settlers who had improved these lands.

Officials of both government and railway liked the idea, particularly the latter who realized that the success of their own venture turned to a large degree upon getting as many settlers along the new right of way as quickly as possible. Special consideration was given to Bell's scheme, and the Qu'Appelle Valley Co. was able to get most of the land they had chosen, excepting the school and Hudson's Bay Company lands at \$1.25 per acre. They bought about 50,000 acres and agreed to pay one fifth down and the balance in five equal annual payments. In addition they agreed to place twenty-five families per year on each township and a total of 288 before 1888. They also contracted to place 4,000 acres under cultivation each year and 20,000 by 1888. If they failed they were to forfeit 160 acres for every settler less than twenty-five and another 160 acres for every 160 acres less than 4,000 acres of new plowing.

The Company was incorporated in May, 1882, with a capital of \$600,000; John Northwood was president, W. R. Bell was general manager, H. J. Eberts, the secretary-treasurer. Chatham was their first headquarters and the home of most of the stock holders. Robert Crawford, a name well and honorably remembered in Indian Head was the only other stock holder, apart from Bell, from Brockville, Ontario. (38)

The venture met with loud popular approval and the stock was soon at a high premium. (39) Work on the farm was pushed with tremendous energy during 1882. Long before the railway reached the farm, almost 3000 acres were plowed by contract. In his first report to the shareholders, January, 1883, (40) the president, after mentioning their initial difficulties, listed as their first year's achievements the following buildings almost finished: main farm house of stone of two storeys, 40' x 34' with a wing 23' x 44', 16 rooms, etc., a main stable, stone, circular, 64' in diameter, with cone-shaped roof surmounted with a look-out tower; in addition small farm houses, stables, sheds, granaries, were being built or planned for various parts of the farm.

This spectacular pace was maintained through 1883, and impressive reports official and otherwise began to appear. The following from the Dominion Land Agent is typical "The Company had broken 4320 acres, had 3520 under crop, a work force of 82 men and 100 horses, 70 buildings, 27 cottages, 22 of them occupied by married people with families, mostly from the Old Country". (41) The Board of Directors was headed by no less an important figure than the Hon. Edgar Dewdney, Lieut. Governor of the North West Territories. Seven names of the first board members appear on the streets of Indian Head today.

In that year, too they made plans for town buildings. They applied to the government for full patent to the present town site of Indian Head, on the ground that the company was having to bring in merchants and mechanics to service

their lands and these must be given the deeds to their properties. Their request was granted and they paid \$8.00 per acre for this section except for the portion required for the railway right-of-way.

Their crop that year was small but sold for a good price locally. The chief annoyance was the difficulty of satisfying the claims of the squatters. Some of these were legitimate and some not, but it cost the company more than \$7,000 and a lot of bad feeling which did them damage in many ways.

The confidence of shareholders and the drive of operators continued into 1884. Buildings continued to go up, granaries, cottages, a rather prodigal flow of most up-to-date equipment, a grist mill, hotel, an elevator. This flow of material and workers and spectacular operations continued to draw wider and more enthusiastic public approval. In that year the Farm made its first big sowing, 3,000 acres, and the factory system of growing grain and mass production of farms was given its premiere, whilst the world watched.

The factory-like feature of the establishment and the general system of organization for this great farm may be seen from the following report made by one of the many visitors: "At half past eight each evening, Major Bell telephones from his residence the orders of the ensuing day and as these are heard by all the foremen (there were 8 assistant foremen and one head foreman, Mr. G. Spearman) the possibility of confusion is slight". (42)

From that same report we may see the kind of publicity which the farm and the North West Territories were receiving from such visits. "September 14, 1884, There is perhaps no enterprize in the north west better known in England, at least by name, than the Bell Farm." Then follows a very long detailed description of the various operations of the farm and the costs of each in terms of one bushel of wheat. It also states that the purpose of the undertaking is to divide the big farm into 300 small ones, each with a dwelling house and equipment, and that "outside the 20,000 acres which constitutes the Bell Farm proper, the company intends to sell lands in various pieces from 213 acres up." Finally the reporter comments on the "division of labour which is carried to an extreme" and observes that "it is farming with much of the poetry taken out of it." Whatever the accuracy of such reports, or no matter how much the Bell Farm was unfitted for the times, such reports as the foregoing must have had a very great publicity value not only for the district but for the entire North West Territories.

The big farm, like most similar ventures, soon began to run into difficulties and it became clear that it was not going to be able to meet its obligations to the government, or the expectations of its shareholders or friends. We are not concerned here with the various reasons for the farm's economic failure. The first serious warning of such came with the frost in 1884, when they could not sell their slightly frozen wheat. When the directors met in the winter of 1884-5 they took account of their changed prospects, and sought government relief from some of their commitments. They wrote to the Dominion Inspector of Lands in December and again in January (43) pointing out that they had invested \$400,000, built 90 substantial buildings, costing \$75,000, including an elevator, \$1200; hotel, \$12,000; 14,000 acres had been broken; and have "within the boundaries of our farm 106 settlers" but owing to unfavorable weather, their crops have

been "seriously deficient", and prices were low, and in consequence they find themselves "unable to continue to fulfil the conditions". They asked to be given patents and be relieved of their breaking and settlement obligations so that they could sell some of their land and get funds to carry on with. The Company proposed to establish an Agricultural College at Indian Head in a building already provided. This was the hotel referred to previously. Further the Major would proceed to the United Kingdom with object to induce settlers to come to the North West Territories.

The Inspector recommended that these concessions be granted on several grounds, chiefly because of what they had already done and because "The Bell Farm has been looked up to as the model farm of the country and done much to direct attention to the North West Territories."

The situation grew desperate in 1885. Just at seeding time the Rebellion broke out and the Major and most of his teams were called into transport service. They were well paid, but the year's work was seriously disrupted. The crop was small, the staff depleted, the land neglected and the signs of imminent disaster appeared in the reports for that year. President Boyle presented their plight in a letter to the Minister of the Interior, November 1885, and pleaded for Letters Patent so that they might realize on some of their lands to put in next year's crop.

The Government came to their relief but the climate did not. The drought of 1886 struck the farm. They got a surprisingly better crop than they had expected on some of their land but by no means enough. The farm continued but it was now chiefly a big land speculative scheme. The Major himself managed to assume most of its liabilities and debts. He kept it together by his energy and genius for showmanship.

The Agricultural College did not mature, but the Major managed to keep going, and in 1889 sold 40,000 acres to the Lord Brassey interests at \$9.00 per acre. (44) Major Bell continued to farm the remaining 19,000 acres himself, and the Bell Farm continued as one of the 'ports of call' for all itinerant delegates. These, however, were now not always as generous with praise as formerly. One of them, Mr. Henry Simmons, (45) of Bearwood Farm, Workingham, England, reports "unfortunately for him (Major Bell) we entered the holding on the side on which all his wheat was badly frosted, much standing uncut and horses and cattle feeding on it."

Finally the Major was compelled to sell his land in smaller lots at more reasonable prices, and we read in the *Vidette* of October 28, 1896, an announcement of sale of the goods on the Bell Farm. Beneath this the editor expresses the then well established belief and wish of the district that "the break up of the Bell Farm into numerous farms will be immensely to the advantage of town and district."

Measured by dividends, the Bell Farm was no doubt a failure. Also it fell short of expectations as a scheme for the speedy settlement of the prairies, and its protracted demise delayed the development of this district. Other criticisms too it no doubt merited. It did, however, bring out many settlers to this district.

Many examples could be given but two of the best are: Mr. A. J. Osment, who came to take charge of the construction of many of the Farm's buildings, and stayed to put up many others in town and country; and Mr. R. Crawford who became a leading store keeper and pillar in many organizations in the settlement and throughout the Territories. Many of the districts most successful farmers came out to work on the Bell Farm.

It is in the wider field of publicising the young North West that the Bell Farm merits most praise. Mr. G. Stephen, President of the C.P.R., paid the Farm its greatest tribute. During that crucial period of launching the settlement of the North West Territories, Mr. Stephen, later Lord Mount Stephen, said that he "considered the Company (Qu'Appelle Farming Co.) as partners with themselves in promoting immigration." We believe that more money has at times been spent on publicity with less results, than was sunk in the big Bell Farm. Indian Head and Western Canada might well pay its respects to the gallant Major, his grandiose ventures, and notable achievements.

Echo Twelve

OUR CASA LOMAS

AS ELSEWHERE, our district has many souvenirs of hopes which never matured and schemes that went astray. Scattered along our trails may be found the remains of some of these, others have long since been lost. The odd one or two still hurt local pride and are rarely mentioned. They are our family skeletons. A few, however, of these projects which failed to make good in the ordinary sense are worthy of remembrance and are of more than local interest. We have selected four of these. The first is associated with a railway that never arrived, the second with a professor, the third with a bishop, and the last with a Lord. We will look at each in that order.

Our material for all four has been gathered chiefly from the weekly issues of local papers, the Fort Qu'Appelle *Vidette*, and the South Qu'Appelle *Progress*. Our selections have been made purely to arouse interest in these little eddies of local history which often make intriguing, though erratic, patterns in the main current of affairs.

Part I

A RAILWAY THAT NEVER ARRIVED.

The first cameo has to do with a railway which never came to Fort Qu'Appelle. It was referred to briefly in a previous section. In the first issue of the *Vidette*, October 9, 1884, the editor pointed out that the "iron horse" was the one thing they lacked. The same issue reports a meeting held on September 26th with Mr. A. McDonald in the chair, at which several resolutions were passed in support of what was called "The Wood Mountain and Qu'Appelle Railway Company". The next day a meeting was held at Qu'Appelle station at which Mr. T. W. Jackson acted as secretary. Successive issues of both the local papers show that this project was very near to the heart of these settlements, and particularly so to Mr. Jackson's and Mr. McDonald's. Both devoted much of their time and money towards securing it.

Great hopes were centered around this railway. It was to provide an outlet for the mineral resources in the vicinity of Wood Mountain, open up the country between Qu'Appelle and the International Boundary in the south, and to Hudson Bay to the north, as well as providing another outlet or trade route to Europe, via Port Churchill. These ambitions changed during the decade of its promotion, but naturally the central aim, to provide Fort Qu'Appelle with a railway, remained constant.

The story of the attempt of Fort Qu'Appelle to secure this railway is a saga in itself. Innumerable resolutions, petitions, amendments, meetings in town halls, newspaper articles, formal as well as informal discussions, heated arguments in hotels, livery barns, the press and in high council chambers for more than ten years punctuated that story.

The act to incorporate the railway received royal assent on May 25, 1883, (46). The usual land grants were to be given, if it were commenced in two years and

finished in five, with at least 40% completed each year. Unfortunately in spite of persistent and valiant efforts by Mr. Jackson and others it was impossible to interest sufficient capital to get enough work done to become eligible for the government aid. It became necessary to get the original act amended several times so as to reduce the deadline for building, the miles to be built each year, and so on.

The settlers were keenly interested, and many were financially involved. Thus at various times they voted almost unanimously to bonus the line. Some of the right-of-way was surveyed between the two Qu'Appelles and south along the old Wood Mountain trail. A portion of this, not far from the old cart trail, was actually built by a few of the keener enthusiasts. (See diagram No. 1). This little bit of long over-grown right-of-way across which no train ever ran is an interesting reminder of many efforts put forth in those pioneer days which brought few good returns, but which were inevitable offshoots of a great experimental period.

The movement to get this particular railway ebbed and flowed for a dozen years. The big dream of a railway from the Border to Hudson Bay subsided to a modest wish for a link line from the valley to the main line at South Qu'Appelle or Wolseley or at a junction near Indian Head. Settlers on the north side of the valley continued to support the idea and voted strongly in favor of giving the \$20,000 bonus. Similarly at South Qu'Appelle the settlers voted the same sized bonus almost unanimously as late as 1892. But again money could not be found and the project faltered, only to be revived in 1895 by an amalgamation of the Wolseley—Qu'Appelle—and Fort Qu'Appelle—Wood Mountain groups. In 1896 a divided vote on the matter proved to the district that this old Wood Mountain Railway scheme was dead.

The stretch of right-of-way that still remains may be seen hiding in the coulee, not far from the present highway. It is a grave-like reminder of some of the dreams of the pioneers that were stillborn.

Part II

A BISHOP'S GREAT VISION

The second historic site in this group of notable failures is entirely different. It is associated with a man who was a pioneer in the spiritual and intellectual field.

This site lies about two miles north of South Qu'Appelle and one mile west. Nothing is to be seen today of the main buildings excepting a few foundation lines. Had you been there in 1887—along with the *Free Press* reporter (47)—you would have seen three “impressive, well built structures on a little knoll amidst the poplar and willow bluffs which give the entire country the appearance of an English park.” The buildings were connected by closed-in passages. The one to the north was called St. John's College and had three departments: a college to train future clergymen, “A Brotherhood of Labour”, and a training college for farm students; the southern building was a boarding school for boys; the center

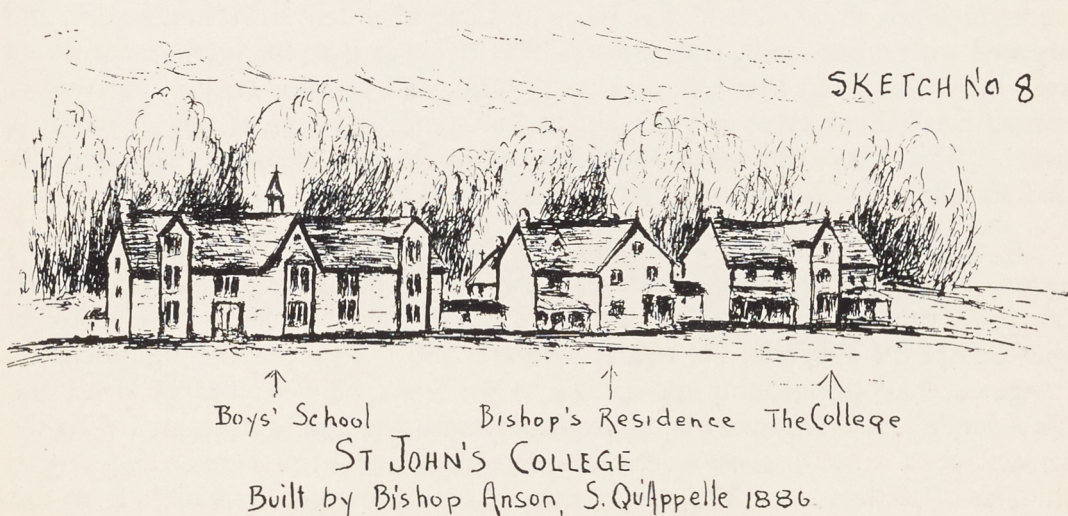
was Bishop Anson's residence. In brief here stood our first miniature university, designed to provide a very broad all-round education in decidedly religious and moral surroundings.

It was a most ambitious educational experiment, created by a remarkable man, in extraordinary surroundings. The Hon. John Adelbert John Robert Anson, M.A., D.C.L., was the son of the Earl of Lichfield, a rich aristocrat and a scholar. He was parish priest of Woolwich, England, who responded to the distant call of the West in his own way by deciding to become a missionary to the pioneer settlers. He was consecrated for his mission by the Archbishop of Canterbury in 1883 and immediately raised funds for it, using his own generously. After surveying his field, 450 miles by 200 miles across what became Saskatchewan, he chose the name Qu'Appelle for the new diocese and South Qu'Appelle as the headquarters for his work.

The bishop was a man of great energy of body, mind and spirit. He travelled extensively organizing churches, 24 in all, created the synod, trained young farmers and clergymen, and taught the children of the settlers. Many of his students later played worthy parts in church and communities throughout the West. (48)

His ambitious educational project was doomed to failure. The bishop and his English friends gave generously of their wealth, and many with their labour, but by 1892 it was quite clear that the school and college could not be even nearly self sustaining. Bishop Anson's health became impaired and he returned to England very disappointed. He continued to work for this prairie diocese and organized "The Friends of Qu'Appelle Association". This body was largely responsible for the establishment of St. Chad's Hostel at Regina, which is in many ways a continuation of Bishop Anson's ideals.

The Synod found it impossible to maintain the establishment at Qu'Appelle, and all that can be seen of this first bishop's ambitious school and college are the rubble lines on the little knoll at the end of the still noticeable drive-way, a few hundred yards from the old road to Edgeley.



One story is told locally which gives a more personal but revealing glimpse of the bishop. A group of his young pupils were playing on the ice of the dam, when they should have been in school. They were suddenly surprised to see the bishop walking towards them. They ran away only to find that the "bishop" was an old Indian to whom Bishop Anson had given one of his "outfits". He gave much more than his old clothes to Western Canada. He was a pioneer of its visions, and deserves remembrance.

Part III

A PROFESSOR'S BLUE-PRINT COLONY

Another interesting failure of the pioneer period was an attempt to plant a colony in the bluff, hilly country bordering the present No. 1 highway on the north, between South Qu'Appelle and Indian Head. This colony, or Christ Church Settlement as it was called, was sponsored by the Church Colonization Co. of England. Its architect, Professor, or Doctor Tanner, was described variously as an "agriculturist" or "promoter of immigration". He was "Government examiner in agriculture in the Department of Science, South Kensington, London". He wrote a number of pamphlets on immigration, and was keenly interested in promoting his schemes. These were for the most part very impracticable, but like Major Bell, his enthusiastic promotion of them brought many people to this district and the North West Territories.

He made many trips to this district from London. We first read of him in connection with Major Bell's plan to start an Agricultural College in the old Bell Farm hotel in Indian Head in 1886. In spite, however, of the Major's efforts the Professor moved west, nearer to Bishop Anson. He appears to have left the Agricultural school feature to the Bishop, whilst he concentrated on the colonization project under the auspices of the Church Company.

His scheme consisted of two plans. (49) The first, the one actually established along the old road leading east from South Qu'Appelle, was simply to build small substantial, four roomed cottages. These were described by a pioneer who remembered them as being "L" shaped, shingled, painted yellow and had a small veranda. Each stood on a 40 acre block and had a garden, sown in advance, and stocked with a cow, pigs, and poultry. The idea was that the immigrants would step into a prepared home, have a small farm, and be close enough together to establish social and other services, and to find some employment, when necessary, nearby. Thus the settlers would soon be well on the way to success, economically and socially.

A number of cottages were built, the land cultivated, other arrangements made, and Professor Tanner took over the management for a time. On August 28, 1887, the opening ceremony was held which was attended by the editor of the Qu'Appelle *Progress*. He reports in part: (50) "Few prettier sights can be imagined than the general appearance as we drove between Indian Head and Qu'Appelle The most comfortable cottages were gaily decorated with the Union Jack we were received by Professor and Mrs. Tanner and several families of settlers The whole series of cottage homes are visible from this

point dotted among the pretty wood land bluffs A portion had been set aside for a church and public places, and flags indicated the probable position of a school and cottage hospital." Bishop Anson preached a suitable sermon, and the editor, the Professor and all who were there were pleased about the little settlement. An English colony had been established in the heart of the prairies. Actually we do read of "hounds" and other Old Country pre-requisites, and plans were made for a church and parsonage, "80 acres of glebe land having been reserved."

It is, of course, easy for us to see now how impracticable, this professor's blue print was. The farms were too small to say the least, and the bluff country not suitable. The settlers moved away, the cottages stood idle and eventually were moved. Professor Tanner became linked up with other colonization schemes and was given a free hand to try out his second plan in what became known as the Brassey Estate, whose story we deal with next.

Part IV

A LORD AND HIS BENEFACTIONS

Probably our most spectacular venture of the "Casa Loma" variety is that linked with the Brassey Estate at Indian Head. The most impressive memorial of this is the big three storey frame and brick building that stands out clearly between No. 1 highway and the C.P.R. just south of the Indian Head depot. This was built in 1895 by Lord Brassey to be used principally as the residence of the Bishop of the Qu'Appelle diocese of the Church of England. As such it was used until about 1911, and is still locally known as the Bishop's Court. Since then it has had a chequered career and is at present a private residence. (51)

The Bishop's Court was only one of a number of generous gifts of Lord Brassey to this district. Most of them were short lived or put to other uses. The complete story of these lies buried in records which we have been unable to discover. The general picture, however, may be obtained from the files of the local papers of that time, supplemented by the memories (52) of a few very early residents, and records in the office of the Synod of the Qu'Appelle Diocese.

From the *British Dictionary of National Biography* we learn that Thomas Brassey was the First Earl of Brassey of Bulkeley, Cheshire, a member of Parliament who distinguished himself as an authority on certain aspects of the British Navy. He was a great sailor—a very rich man, keenly interested in immigration and the development of the British colonies. He sailed around the world in his yacht "The Sunbeam", and served the Crown in several high appointments, chief of which was that of Governor of Victoria, Australia. His interests in this district appear to have been animated entirely by his sincere desire to help the people of the British Isles to establish themselves in the newly opened prairies of the North West.

That many of his generous gifts were, for the most part, wasted, and worse still, some actually retarded the settlement of this district, in no way detracts from Lord Brassey's claim to our interest and regard.

Co-operative Colonization Company" and the "Canadian Alliance Farming Company". This group had bought, during 1889-90, 40,000 acres from the old Bell Farm block at \$9.00 per acre. Thus Lord Brassey came to the rescue of Major Bell and the Big Farm idea. This must have been a godsend for the Major and an unfortunate extension of life for the latter.

Again, however, it was not simply another big farm or a purely large scale land deal. It was the second plan of Professor Tanner's Christ Church Colony blueprints. It was based on the idea of bringing settlers out, giving them a brief farming training, establishing them on larger farms, and at the same time providing them with religious and social facilities in close proximity to their farms. Professor Tanner was the general superintendent of the scheme. He paid brief visits to the district each summer, inspected the projects and outlined the plans to the local managers. In winter he was back in England—working out the details and arranging for the following year's work. The actual land deal arrangements seem to have been left in the hands of the directors of the subsidiary companies. Lord Brassey helped them to get started, but seems to have been more concerned with the social and religious services.

Actual operations began in the spring of 1890. The local excitement, expectations, and gossip which such items as the following released 65 years ago can easily be imagined: "Carpenters at work on the brick hotel preparing for Brassey Co.'s men Sixty to seventy persons arrived under the auspices of the C. C. and C. Co." This "hotel" was the place mentioned in our Bell Farm Story, which the Major had hoped to make into an Agricultural College four years earlier. It became the headquarters for the Brassey workers until they had built their own central base. Both the hotel and the central farm are still standing. The site of the former has been already indicated. (See Bell Farm Story) The latter is presently occupied by the Orange Home Farm for boys. It can be seen very distinctly whilst driving past Indian Head on No. 1 highway one and a half miles south east of the town.

Similar press items appeared rapidly: "large scale work to begin at once Two cars of working oxen and 16 teams arrive Professor Tanner arrived on his annual tour of inspection."

The work of breaking up the land and constructing the headquarters farm, manager's residence, and other smaller buildings continued under the direction of the resident manager, Mr. W. B. Sheppard. The choice of Mr. Sheppard turned out to be particularly unfortunate. His pompous manners were irritating and responsible for several unfortunate incidents amongst both his own workers and local residents. We read of the men going on strike and dealers ordering him off the place.

In 1892, Mr. A. C. McLane, a man very highly respected throughout the district and long time citizen of South Qu'Appelle was appointed to manage the new Sunbeam Farm for the C. C. C. Co., subsidiary company in the Brassey Estate. This farm, which was named after Lord Brassey's yacht, was a solid stone structure in part. It too can be seen from No. 1 highway as the low long building, somewhat hidden by trees, about one and a half miles south west of Indian Head town site. This farm was the chief center for the stock raising ventures carried on

by the Company's lands in the Squirrel Hills district. It also grew grain "in a large way", and high hopes were expressed for the financial soundness of this farms venture under the guidance of Mr. McLane.

In that same year, 1892, appear the ambitious plans which were maturing for the Brassey Estate, especially in its social and community planning aspects. In November of that year we read in the *Vidette*: "Professor Tanner has had prepared by Mr. W. Chesterton, architect of Winnipeg, a water color picture representing a birds eye view of the proposed town of Brassey, which it is the intention of the directors of the Brassey Co. to build opposite the town of Indian Head, to the south of the C.P.R. track. The proposed town is to be beautifully laid out, and to possess a church, parsonage and hospital, fine stores and business blocks and several rows of houses and cottages for those employed on the estate." Today No. 1 highway runs across this "model little town" as it was later called, and by an odd irony of time recent local development has begun to build again on the site of this sixty year old dream of a college professor backed by an English Lord.

The first units of this building scheme did not get started until 1894, but the work on both the Alliance Farm, the one on which the new town site had been chosen, and the Sunbeam Farm, had been continued in 1893. More land broken, more stock, more settlers, more equipment, more buildings, some local friction are reported. In late August Professor Tanner arrived from England, expressed satisfaction and returned home "well pleased with the prospects."

Lord Brassey himself was busy in England organising the work of the Dr. Barnado Homes, and in Calcutta investigating the opium traffic. His aims, so far as his colonization scheme was concerned, appear in the press and these emphasize his chief concern, the social life of the family of the settlers.

In the summer of 1894 he decided to pay a visit to his Indian Head Estate. That summer was very dry and the farms were obviously not prospering but the site for the church for his town and Estate had been chosen. Lord Brassey was met at Winnipeg by his English manager, W. B. Sheppard, and reached Indian Head on October 1st, 1894. Next day he met the town council in the morning and spoke at a meeting in the skating rink in the afternoon, following Sir. W. Laurier, who was touring the Territories at that time. Mr. Peter Ferguson of Kenlis Plains was in the chair and invited Lord Brassey to speak. He made it very clear that he was aware of the failure of the farm as such, but pointed out that his chief aim was to send out the distressed people from the Old Land and to ensure that they were not left without the amenities of well organized communities.

From that time Lord Brassey devoted his attention primarily to the social and community requirements of the Indian Head Settlement. He began to dispose of his farms. A new manager, a Mr. F. Sheppard, was appointed who was installed at the "Big House" on the Bell Farm, and managed the Alliance Farm on behalf of J. A. Aikens' group of interests. Mr. A. McLane continued at the Sunbeam Farm. At that time Lord Brassey had 4,000 acres cultivated in the Indian Head district, and in a report to the press given on leaving Canada, 1894, pointed out that "although the colonization idea with which he began had failed, he still hoped to see Indian Head station enlarged to perhaps ten times its present dimensions."

Both the Brassey and Bell farms continued in those names, but they were in the hands of the liquidator from 1895. In that same year, however, were built the Bishop's Court, and just west of it on the same lot "a beautiful little Gothic Church", St. John's. The former served as bishop's residence for the Qu'Appelle diocese from 1895 to about 1911.

A third building erected by Lord Brassey about 200 yards east from the Bishop's palace and on the same side of the railway was a creamery. This was a joint undertaking by the farmers of the district who simply borrowed the money from Brassey at a nominal rate of interest. In addition to these he offered to give land and erect and equip a reading room with periodicals, and mention is also made of a cottage hospital, a school of cookery, a "special school" and a girls hostel. Some of these did function for a time.

Unfortunately the church building had been placed to serve a settlement which was to grow up on his lands south of the railway. When the land development failed, the church and the other buildings were stranded on the wrong side of the track for the town residents. The creamery soon found itself short of cows and was compelled to close.

In 1896 the local press of that year was proclaiming that in spite of Lord Brassey's gifts the district as a whole would be better off if the land were in the hands of many thrifty people. With these the other services would follow.

Today the Bishop's Court stands like a lonely sentinel looking out across the old estate which was never peopled and watching with interest the recent development in its vicinity.

It seems fitting that the generous gifts, the thought, and the efforts which Lord Brassey gave to our pioneers be remembered at this time.

These abortive schemes of our early pioneer decades illustrate the highly experimental nature of that period. In all creative eras many projects are doomed to failure, but their promoters do not merit the oblivion which generally overtakes them. The plans were wrong somewhere but the promoters of them tried hard and sacrificed much for this district and for the young North West.

Echo Thirteen

A FARMER WHO BECAME AN EVANGELIST—DR. A. McKAY AND THE EXPERIMENTAL FARM

THE history of the establishment and first significant achievements of the Dominion Experimental farm at Indian Head are closely interwoven with the story of one of this district's most distinguished pioneers, Mr. (later Dr.) Angus McKay, the first superintendent of this farm.

Because of this close relationship, and also because Mr. McKay's story illuminates so many of the typical experiences of that first band of settlers whose faith, stamina and intelligence tamed the prairies to man's needs, we present in some detail the story of Angus McKay.

For the first part of this story we are indebted chiefly to Hawkes' *Saskatchewan and Its People*. It is well to keep in mind that Dr. McKay was almost 83 years of age when he told his story to Mr. Hawkes.

Mr. McKay was born near Pickering, Ontario, in 1840, of Scottish parents, and worked on his father's farm before being attracted to the West by the great boom of 1881.

"Four Pickering men formed a company in the spring of 1882 with the intention of securing and working a relatively large area of land in the North West Territories. The members of this company were: Mr. W. Williamson, a carpenter, builder and farmer; Mr. R. Miller, one of the big stock breeders of Ontario; Mr. E. Boone, a well to do farmer, and myself." Williamson and McKay came West in the spring of 1882 but were delayed by the floods of that year. On the way they were advised to rent a farm in Manitoba and grow a little seed. "We put in twenty acres of Red Fife and eight acres of oats." Williamson stayed to look after the crop, whilst McKay pushed further west to locate land, and headed for the Indian Head country because they had talked with a young man in Winnipeg who had been employed the previous year on the C.P.R. survey work, and had given them glowing accounts of this district.

On the way McKay was overtaken by a land agent who was commissioned to sell lands between Fort Qu'Appelle and the C.P.R. They examined the country along the way keeping an open mind concerning the land, and reached Fort Qu'Appelle about the middle of June. Here they found "some hundreds of intending settlers in tents on the south side of the river, as the bridge across the stream had been swept away by the severe floods. (53) Then Mr. McKay returned to the Indian Head district and selected his land on the eastern fringe of the Bell Farm block. The land survey was not yet completed, and they used the township survey posts to mark out their choice. They bought 2,000 acres at \$2.00 per acre from the C.P.R. Later these were adjusted to be closer together and a little more land was added.

In the first summer they broke 30 acres, and got their land surveyed; in 1883 they put this in crop and broke another three or four hundred acres. In 1884 they sowed what they had broken the previous year, nearly all Red Fife wheat, and

on the stubble they put in oats. "We had a wonderful crop but it was late in ripening and the frost nipped it on the 8th of September. Nobody knew anything about frozen grain, and we couldn't sell a bushel. There was no market for frozen grain."

The following year, the Rebellion year, 1885, they managed to sell all the wheat they had at 75c to 80c a bushel. Then came the dry year of 1886, which was a bad year for many settlers. Mr. McKay passes over those crucial experiences and brings his narrative to a close by saying that in 1887 the "Pickering Company" decided to dissolve and drew lots for everything, sections, horses, machinery etc.

For a more adequate picture of the facts behind Mr. McKay's too modest narrative we must turn to other sources of information. These reveal that between the sowing of that first 30 acres of Red Fife in 1883 and the disbanding of the McKay or Pickering Company in 1887 much water had gone over the dam. In those first four years of settlement many illusions had been shattered about a quick conquest of these plains by the plow. A network of problems had to be solved—each group involving its own special difficulties and calling for the development of new methods, new machinery and new combinations of qualities of mind, muscle and heart.

One of the most crucial and difficult groups of those early problems were the agricultural ones. The final fate of the prairie farming was in the hands of the pioneer farmers themselves. Mr. A. McKay was the leader of those farmers who most quickly perceived this and helped others to do the same. The outstanding manner in which he did this was long ago recognized and acclaimed.

One of the chief ways in which Mr. McKay rendered this service was in the energetic way he aroused local and general enthusiasm in raising the best crops possible. From the very first he was a keen leader of the agricultural societies which the government supported by means of grants. These organizations were an outstanding feature of those pioneer days in this district and elsewhere. Often they were the only and usually the most active society in a settlement. The annual show covering a wide range of activities was enthusiastically supported. In addition, they often assisted outside projects and fostered group and individual efforts in various ways. They were the nurseries of many initial experiments in agricultural and kindred problems.

The leading place which Mr. McKay took in these infant experimental schools of the North West Territories, along with some other "grass root" experiences of those days, may be gathered from the following items which appeared in the first issue of the Qu'Appelle *Vidette* for 1885. Amongst other briefs, were these: "Frozen noses are the rule . . . the blasted country is not fit to live in" (the frost was nipping more than the noses of the pioneers, and was indeed driving many out of the country that very year). Again: "The annual meeting of the Indian Head Agricultural Society was held . . . all last years officers were elected". This showed Mr. A. McKay as president. Later a motion was passed whereby a loan of the balance on hand, \$87.00, was turned over to the committee that had been formed to set up Indian Head Rural Municipality.

Mr. McKay's enthusiastic interest in the basic challenge of the pioneer farmer—how to grow good grain under untried prairie conditions—is illustrated further by his promotion of local displays for the Colonial Exhibition of 1886 in London, England. This show was the "First Royal Exhibition since 1862" and great efforts were made by those interested in it including the Dominion and Territorial Governments to make full use of its opportunities to advertise "the colonies". Throughout the summer of 1885 the various agricultural societies made special arrangements to procure their very best displays at the local shows, in order to send the cream of these displays to London. Great enthusiasm prevailed throughout the period of the fall fairs. At Fort Qu'Appelle it is noted that Mr. A. McKay was a winner with 2 bushels of Red Fife wheat, and at the same show the farmer and other officials addressed the settlers.

In November 26, 1885, we learn from the president of the Indian Head and Qu'Appelle Valley Agricultural Society that "the prize winning exhibits are now at Regina, ready to be shipped to London." Next February word came that "great preparations are being made there for this special display of the produce from India and the Colonies". Later we hear that 400,000 people visited the exhibition during May and special mention was made of a "fine sample of Red Fife wheat from the McKay Farming Company, North West Territories, and a sample of White Fyfe from the farm of Mr. T. Williams of Abernethy."

The sample from the McKay farm won a very large colored diploma and a bronze medal which is now in the possession of the descendants of Mr. E. Boone, a partner in the McKay Co. (54) Mrs. Roy Boone informed us that the wheat was really grown on the land which came eventually to the Boone family, and that "Grandmother Boone" used to enjoy telling of the long hours they spent selecting that sample of Red Fife.

It was this energetic and intelligent enthusiasm in all matters pertaining to the problems of farming which helped to single out Mr. A. McKay for local and then national leadership in such matters. It was Mr. McKay who noted the significant fact in that disastrous drought in 1886, that the crops grown on land which had been fallowed the previous year did not suffer so much as the others. This more or less accidental discovery of the value of summer fallow as an important conservation-of-moisture practice proved to be of far-reaching significance, especially when it was discovered by such a man as Angus McKay.

The coincidence of a similar occurrence on the adjoining Bell Farm would not go unheeded by Mr. McKay, and the Agricultural Society meetings in the fall of 1886 quite probably heard the first local news concerning the significant feature of summerfallow from the man who was to so successfully demonstrate it at his new abode.

Thus the brief news item in the May 19th, 1887 issue of the *Vidette* that Mr. McKay had been invited to Ottawa at the request of the Minister of Agriculture might have created less surprise than pride in this particular district.

The actual appointment to the position of superintendent to the new farm was in the hands of Mr. W. D. Perley who had been recently elected as the first representative for the constituency of East Assiniboia in the House of Commons.

Mr. Perley knew well the caliber of Mr. McKay. He had beaten him in the election of 1885 for membership in the North West Council by a mere eleven votes. In that election Mr. McKay had campaigned as a "practical farmer who would press for a minister of agriculture for the North West Territories." (55)

In the summer of 1887 Mr. McKay toured the west in company with Mr. W. Saunders, Dominion Director of Experimental Farms who selected the site for the first experimental farm in the North West Territories. Six hundred and eighty acres were purchased from the officials who were then administrating the affairs of the Qu'Appelle Valley Farming Co. for \$9,500.

Naturally the rumour that this district was to be the prospective site for the farm caused considerable excitement and discussion here and elsewhere. The arrival of the official announcement reached Indian Head in February 1888 and was the occasion of an oyster supper held at the Commercial Hotel at which Mr. McKay responded to the toast of the evening by giving some ideas as to the work which was to be carried on at the new farm. Work on the buildings and grounds began that year and were completed in the summer of 1889.

Almost immediately the "Experimental Farm" became the center for important investigations into various problems relating to agriculture. The most significant of which had to do with the discovery of early ripening cereals, such as the famous Marquis variety of hard spring wheat which did so much to make the settlement of the prairies successful. The discovery of Marquis Wheat, combining as it did the milling qualities of the old reliable Red Fife with the early maturing characteristics of Hard Calcutta, was somewhat symbolic of the joint partnership of Mr. McKay, the enthusiastic farmer, and Dr. Saunders, and his staff of agricultural scientists.

In those years of early struggle and achievement of the Experimental Farm, Mr. McKay was the 'presiding genius' and untiring evangelist. Abundant references appear in the local papers telling of the manner in which Mr. McKay went back and forth to meetings in all corners of the North West Territories, preaching the message of intelligent farming. Even more reports appear describing the experiments at, and the visitors to this first Experimental Farm in the North West Territories.

This farm owes much of its early success to the enthusiasm and ability of its first superintendent, Dr. A. McKay, pioneer of better farming throughout the North West Territories. This district is indebted to Dr. McKay and the Experimental Farm for the distinction which they have brought to it.

Echo Fourteen

THE BIRTHPLACE OF A GREAT MOVEMENT—MR. W. R. MOTHERWELL AND THE FOUNDING OF THE TERRITORIAL GRAIN GROWERS ASS'N.

ONE of the most historically significant events to occur in this district was the birth of the Territorial Grain Growers' Association. The meeting at which the small group of farmers decided to form this original society was held in Indian Head, December 18, 1901. From that tiny meeting has grown the great network of farmers co-operative organizations and their subsidiary activities which are such a characteristic feature of the Prairie scene today.

The little meeting in a planing mill in the town (56) climaxed a growing discontent amongst the farmers here and elsewhere with marketing conditions. It was the first constructive gesture on the part of those pioneer grain growers towards securing for themselves a greater influence or control over the wheat marketing facilities. That these troubles came to head in this district is due largely to the fact that this was then rapidly becoming "the largest initial wheat shipping center of the world", and that such men as W. R. Motherwell, Peter Dayman and John Millar lived here or in the adjoining district.

The size of the crop, the elevator and box car conditions in 1901 may be seen in the following: "At Indian Head 800,000 bushels of wheat had been shipped, but there were 300,000 bushels in the elevators, and about 100,000 stored in 120 private granaries around the town. About 1,000,000 are yet to be marketed, probably half of which is now in bins and granaries that are safe." (57) Somewhat similar conditions were common across the entire plains.

In order to facilitate the handling of the ever increasing volume of grain, the buyers had set up certain machinery. This enabled them to make rules and regulations which in turn led to the concentration and often unfair distribution of box cars. Further, the grading and handling of wheat in the elevators was unsatisfactory and often unjust. Small wonder that the farmers who had withstood many hardships in their conflict with the natural hazards of drought and frost, felt extremely exasperated by being thwarted of their rewards by what seemed to be purely man made obstacles. What was the good of growing crops if they couldn't sell them? The farmers here resolved to do something about this recurring and exasperating box-car trouble by forming themselves into a non-political but militant farmers' organization.

The far reaching consequences of this little December meeting are now woven into the broad pattern of Canadian history and may be read elsewhere. (58) Briefly the movement spread rapidly and successfully into a vast network of activities of various kinds.

Some of the local incidents and personalities surrounding the initial meeting we gathered from the late, Mr. John Millar, M.P., (59) the secretary of that meeting and first secretary of the original association then formed. We took down the following brief notes. "In the late fall of 1901 Mr. J. Sibbald and Mr. Millar were following their wagons on their way to Indian Head and discussing marketing

difficulties. Sibbald suggested that Millar, as secretary for the local Agricultural Society, should call a meeting and see if anything could be done. The meeting was held but apart from airing their grievances, nothing was done. Mr. Motherwell was not present but later discussed it with others, and along with his friend Mr. Peter Dayman they planned another meeting and sent out invitations to surrounding districts to meet at Indian Head on December 18th. At this historic meeting a committee was set up to draft a constitution for some sort of a farmers' non-political organization. Mr. W. R. Motherwell was made first president and Mr. John Millar the first secretary. Thus began the Territorial Grain-Growers' Association which spread rapidly across the Prairies—changed its name—broadened its scope, and played a major role in many departments of Prairie life.

The presiding genius of its early achievements, its first president, and later distinguished Minister of Agriculture for the Dominion of Canada, the Hon. W. R. Motherwell, was one of the first settlers in the Qu'Appelle Lakes' district. He homesteaded near to Abernethy in 1882. From the first he was associated with the struggles of the pioneers and very soon gave evidence of his peculiar fitness for his later work. This was his ability to win the confidence of those who felt themselves aggrieved to give their discontent restrained but powerful expression and to guide it into constructive channels.

In the fall of 1891 Mr. Motherwell had attended a political convention, held in connection with the first election to the Legislative Assembly for the North West Territories. He refused to accept the offer of nomination by that convention on the grounds that the meeting had not been properly called and was therefore not representative. The editor of the *Vidette* commented on this convention in the issue of October 29, 1891 in these prophetic words: "Mr. W. R. Motherwell . . . gave his reasons for refusing the nomination . . . in a manner which proved himself to be a man of strong convictions, honest intentions and well qualified to look after the interests of all. Should he at anytime be honoured with the confidence of his neighbours . . . he will be sure of the support of every man of all shades of politics." Exactly ten years later, December 18, 1901, in the Indian Head planing mill he was given that confidence, and half a century of Canadian history acclaims the wisdom of that decision.

The decision made in that meeting in Indian Head by some three score farmers of this district, together with the first annual convention of the parent organization, also held in this town, were of momentous consequence to all Canadians.

To-day this district is proud that it was the birthplace of the Territorial Grain Growers' Association and the home of so distinguished a Canadian as W. R. Motherwell.

FOOTNOTES

No.

1. Edmunds, Prof. F. H.—*Geological History of the Qu'Appelle*. Unpublished M.S.
2. Harmon, Daniel W.—*A Journey of Voyages and Travels in the Interior of North America*.
3. McDonald, J., of Garth, *Reminiscences*. Microfilm copy in the Archives of Saskatchewan.
4. Maps accompanying, *D. Thompson's Narrative of his Explorations in Western America*.
5. Journal of Daily Occurrences at Qu'Appelle Lakes Post. Copy in writer's possession.
6. Hudson Bay Company Archives, London A-12-10.
7. Palliser, Capt. J., *Exploration in British North America, 1857-1860*.
8. Southesk, The Earl of, *Saskatchewan and the Rocky Mountains*.
9. Bell Geological Expedition; Indian Treaty No. 4.
10. Hind, H. Y., *Assiniboine and Saskatchewan Exploring Expedition*.
11. Ibid.
12. Ibid.
13. Cowie, Isaac, *Company of Adventurers*; McKenzie, N.M.W.J., *Men of the Hudson Bay Company*.
14. McKenzie, page 75.
15. Black, *History of Saskatchewan*, page 316.
16. Morice, Father, *History of the Catholic Church in the North West*.
17. Ibid.
18. Hawkes, J., *Saskatchewan and its People*, page 316.
19. Canadian Sessional Papers, 1880, Paper No. 4.
20. Canadian Sessional Papers, 1880-81, Paper No. 3.
21. Laviolette, *Sioux Indians in Canada*, page 100.
22. Hawkes, *Saskatchewan and its People*, page 364.
23. Canadian Sessional Papers, 1882.
24. Canadian Sessional Papers, paper No. 23.
25. *Vidette*, Indian Head, Dec. 19, 1900.
26. The party followed the old Ft. Garry to Ft. Qu'Appelle trail, "A" of diagram No. 1 until near to Wolsley where they took trail "B" into the valley.
27. Most of this straightening was in valleys and coulees and is well illustrated in diagram No. 6.
28. McKenzie, *Men of the Hudson Bay Co.*, page 78.
- 28-B. The *Vidette* was first published at Ft. Qu'Appelle in 1884, but was transferred to Indian Head in 1897.
29. Ibid.
30. McKenzie, *Men of the Hudson Bay*, page 121.
31. Ibid.
32. Letter in writer's possession.
33. Record in writer's possession.
34. Middleton, General Sir F., *Suppression of the Rebellion in the North West Territories of Canada*. Edited by G. H. Needler, footnote to page 5.
35. Ibid.
36. Hawkes, *Saskatchewan and its People*, page 230.
37. The present concrete bridge is a few hundred feet east of the old steel one.
38. Bell Farm File, Archives of Saskatchewan.
39. Black, *History of Saskatchewan*, page 39.
40. File 328, S.H.S., Archives of Saskatchewan.
41. Ibid.
42. Journal of the Royal Agricultural Society of England, Provincial Archives.
43. File 325, S.H.S., Archives of Saskatchewan.
44. Tenant Farmers' Report, Bell Farm File Provincial Archives.
45. Ibid.
46. Statutes of Canada, Vol. 1, 2, 1883, page 108.
47. *Progress*, Qu'Appelle, Aug. 11, 1887.
48. Heeney, W. B., *Leaders of the Canadian Church*.
49. *Progress*, Qu'Appelle, April 1887.
50. Ibid.
51. Parish Histories, Files of Qu'Appelle Diocese, Synod Office, Regina.
52. We are especially indebted to Mr. and Mrs. H. Fox and Mr. J. Hunt of Indian Head for much information here and elsewhere.
53. This was probably the most easterly crossing.
54. At present this diploma is on loan to the Archives of Saskatchewan.
55. *Vidette*, Qu'Appelle, Aug. 27, 1885.
56. A report of an interview with the late Mr. J. Millar. Copy in the writer's possession.
57. Morton, A.S., *History of Prairie Settlement*, page 129.
58. Moorhouse, H., *Deep Furrows*.
59. Story in writer's possession.
60. We are indebted for this information to Mr. W. G. Vicars of Fort Qu'Appelle.
61. Chief surface evidence still visible are the well defined areas of fire clay used in the old chimneys, displaying the regular pattern followed by the H.B.C. at that time. In most similar forts chimney remains are the most permanent. The coin could have been lost or left there by one of either the Palliser or Southesk parties, both were from Great Britain.
62. Copy in writer's possession.

[illegible]

JUL 26 RETURN

FC 3545 Q3 P52 1955
PETTY THOMAS 1890-
ECHOES OF THE QU APPELLE LAKES
DISTRICT
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Petty, Thomas, 1890-.
Echoes of the Qu'Appelle Lakes
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